THE VINDICATION OF Richard Atkyns ESQUIRE.

As also a Relation of several Passages in the *WESTERN-WAR*, Wherein He was Concern'd.

Together, With certain SIGHS or EJACULATIONS at the End of every *CHAPTER*.

Dedicated to His particular FRIENDS: And intended to no other.

Qui jacet in terris non habet unde cadat.

LONDON, Printed M DC LXIX.

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OUND BY C.SMITH

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The Preface.

I Do not find many People the better for Vindications, *and as few as may be ſhall be the worſe for this of mine, having confin'd my ſelf, in the Application of it, only to Perſons concern'd, that the trouble of it may not extend further than the Neceſſity: I call it a Neceſſity, for I have only this choice left me, either to ſuffer in my Name, Family, Credit, and in truth in my entire Character, and the whole Story of my Converſation, even among my moſt familiar Acquaintances and Allies, or elſe to redeem my ſelf by this Defence; which I have alſo ſo digeſted, as to anſwer the ſeveral Parts of the* Calumny. *The* Scandal *it ſelf is a very great Affliction, but the Hand from whom it comes, is yet a further aggravation of*

it. I had it in my thoughts to have acquitted myſelf in Writing, but finding the Task too much for a Pen, I was enforced to make uſe of the Preſs, keeping however to my firſt Intention, of placing the Copies only in thoſe Hands where my Adverſaries have employed their Malice *to my* Reproach.

If perchance any of theſe Papers ſhall happen to be otherwiſe diſpoſed of, let the Reader ſtop here, or blame himſelf rather than me, for a trouble I never meant him.

But unto ſuch as they ſhall properly come, I do declare, I found it neceſſary to bring in the moſt conſiderable Paſſages of my whole Life, without which, my Vindication *alone would have ſeemed imperfect and abrupt, the Cauſes of it relating to more than Thirty Years ſince, and by which the Reader may judge, whether it be probable that ſuch Premiſes ſhould produce ſuch Concluſions as are moſt untruly laid to my Charge.*

The Vindication of RICHARD ATKYNS *Esq;*

I Have heard, that when the Pope and Cardinals of *Rome* ſend their Emiſſaries into any of the Reform'd Churches, they injoyn them to Write their Lives; by which they may ground a Judgment upon the nature and diſpoſition of the People to whom they are ſent, as well as the diſpatches of thoſe whom they ſend: And though I ſhall never encourage ſo much nonſenſe in the World, as for every man to write his Life; yet I ſhall never judge any man that doth it, becauſe every Man is an Emiſſary from God; and if one Hair (which is an excrement) doth not fall without the providence of an Almighty Power, how much more providence may be expected upon the whole man, who is Gods Image? And if the well drawn Pictures of our Aunceſtors adorn our Houſes, how much more ſhould the Painting their own minds adorn our Lives and Converſations. If they have done well, to ſtir us up to outdo them; if ill, to give us cautions to avoid the evils of them. I cannot therefore condemn writing in any, becauſe no man lives ſo unneceſſarily but that God is glorified in his life; Yet I ſhould not approve of it in my ſelf, but that neceſſity compels me to countermine the deep laid Plots and Deſigns contrived againſt me, by my falſe, and active Enemies, who ſtudy to render me the worſt of men: And if *a good name is better than pretious oyntment*, an ill name will ſtink to all poſterity: That is it hath ſtirred me up to run this hazard of cenſure; with this alſo, that my Name and Family on both ſides, might not ſuffer reproach through the conſent of my ſilence. Eccles. Cap. 17.

My Birth was neither glorious nor contemptible, deſcending from Gentry on my Fathers ſide, and Nobility on my Mothers; my Father being Son and Heir of *Richard Atkins*

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Eſq; of *Tuffleigh* in the County of *Glouceſter*, Chief Juſtice of *Weſt-Wales*, and of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Councel, in the Councel of the *Marches* of *Wales*; and Brother to Sir *Edward Atkyns* of *Lincolnes-Inn*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. My Mother ſecond Daughter of Sir *Edwin Sandys* Banneret of *Lattimers* in the County of *Bucks*, by *Elizabeth* Lady *Sandys*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Lord *Sands* of the *Vine* in *Hantſhire*, begotten of the Body of the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Bray*.

No ſooner had I life, then I was like to loſe my Lively-hood, but by Gods providence, and the aſſiſtance of Friends that Cloud was ſoon over. Whilſt I was at Nurſe my Arm was broke, and being ill ſet, I was conveyed to *London* (being above Fourſcore Miles from the place) to have it ſet better; where playing amongſt Horſes in *Covent-Garden*, one ſtruck the Skin off my Forehead with his hinder Feet, and did me no further miſchief.

1ſt Sigh. — *Lord, thou art he that took me out of my Mothers Womb! thou waſt my hope when I hanged yet on my Mothers Breaſt: But Lord, what dangers and miſchiefs is Man ſubject to! There is but one way to Live, and hundreds of ways to be depriv'd of Life.*

My uſage at School. After I was taken from the tuition of Women, and capable of going to School, I was plac'd under a Knights Chaplain (my Mothers Uncle) who Taught none but his own Sons, and my ſelf; the Chaplain being Young and Amorous, made Love to one of the Chamber-maids, and Scor'd every frown ſhe gave him on my Breech; his Patrons Sons were big enough to remedy the miſchief, or to complain of it; ſo all the ſtripes happened upon me, that for the ſpace of one whole Year, I was whipt moſt dayes twice a day, and the buds of the Rod ſo thick planted in my Skin, that had it been a Fruitful Soyl, it muſt needs have produc'd a whole Coppice of Birch; of which I durſt not complain, for fear of being whipt for complaining alſo: But a diſcovery being made, and the truth of the matter examined, I was ſent

to

to the Miniſter of the Pariſh to School, who was Jealous of his Wife; and upon every diſpute between them, would (not take the pains to whip me, but) take me by the Hair of the Head and beat it againſt the wall, which caus'd me to be very dull; and giving me Lectures much more than I could digeſt, I was ſo heartleſs, that I benefited but little in two Years time. After this I was ſent to a Free-ſchool in *Glouceſter*, where I made Exerciſes beſt of any in the Seat; but repeated Grammar Rules and Leſſons worſt, by reaſon of the uſage aforeſaid; ſo as my Maſter ſuſpected others to have made my Exerciſes for me, which took me off from making them ſo wellas I could: But when I began to take ſome delight in Learning, I fell ſick of the Small Pox, and was very near Death, and went to School no more.

Jealouſy void of reaſon.

— Lord, what variety of troubles are incident to the nature of Man! and if theſe be the portion of our innocent age, what reward muſt we expect for our riper and more ſinful Age!

2d Sigh.

I was afterwards ſent to the Univerſity of *Oxon* about fourteen years of Age, where I may too truely ſay I ſpent two years time; what by not being ſo well grounded as I ought to read a *Greek* or *Latin* Author with pleaſure; and being placed under a Tutor, who (though he were a compleat Gentleman, and a Scholar, yet) by reaſon of his much abſence, (being in a wooing condition) read very ſeldom to me; ſo as I frequented Publick Exerciſes little, and Studyed *Zegardine*'s Philoſophy more than *Ariſtotle*, or *Ramus*, thereby imitating the *Sicilians* to erect a Temple to Riot; But I diſcovered, and reſolv'd to amend this Error. When I was taken from thence, 'twas debated among my Friends, whether to ſend me to the Inns of Court, or to Travel; and being the only Child of my Parents, the firſt was reſolved upon: In proſecution of which, I was ſent to *Lincolnes-Inn* (the place where the Family of my Fathers ſide had anciently been, and ſome of them then there) but upon ſome

At the Univerſity

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diſguſt in my entrance, I was again recalled from thence to the *Vine*, where my Grandmother (the Lord *Sands* Daughter, and Heir) then liv'd: I had not been long there, but the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* came thither upon a Viſit, and brought his only Son by the ſecond *Venter* with him, who was deſign'd for Travel; we being much of an age and humour, ſoon ſtruck up an acquaintance and an agreement to go together; there was but one obſtacle in the way, (*viz.*) that there was great danger of changing my Religion; his Tutor being a *Romiſh* Prieſt, and his Lordſhip having been a great Defender of the *Romiſh* Faith; not only by his Sword in taking the *Turks* Standard, for which he was made a *German* Count, but by writing for the Church of *Rome*, againſt Biſhop *Jewel*; and as there was danger on the one hand as to matters of Faith, ſo there was ſafety of perſon and conveniency on the other: His Lordſhip giving us Letters of credence to all Chriſtendome, being of greater renown abroad than in his own native Country; by which means, and the intimacy I had with my Coſin *Arundell*, I ſuppoſe I ſaw thoſe things that no Proteſtant was ever admitted to ſee: Our Commiſſion was to Travel for Three Years, and one Maſter *White* a Proteſtant, was permitted to Travel under the ſame conduct, for my ſake.

Reſolution for Travel.

3d *Sigh.* —— *And now Lord what obdurate heart is it that will not be concern'd in departing from all his Friends and Relations, and his own native Country to boot! Nay further, in putting Soul and Body into the Hands of Strangers, and contrary minded Men; had'ſt thou not been the God of the Sea, as well as of the Land, of the whole World, as well as of part of it, this had been a great hazard indeed; but thou art in all places at all times, the Heavens and Earth are thine; there is no way to avoid thy Bleſſed Preſence but by Sin, and no way to embrace it but by Grace.*

In *October* 1636 or 1637, we took Ship at *Dover* and landed at

at *Callice*, leaving (like young Seamen) ſome tribute behind us, to gratifie the Fiſh: There we underſtood the direct way to *Paris* was obſtructed by diſpoſing the *French* Army into their Winter Quarters, and that the Earl of *Bedford* that now is, was Robb'd in his paſſage thither; we therefore went an Oblique way by Caroch (as they Scandalouſly call it, *Anglice* a Wagon) and as I remember, we went to *Oske*, where there was an *Engliſh* Nunnery newly erected, and intended to be Conſecrated the next day; we had therefore the opportunity to ſee, and ſpeak with the intended Nuns, and view their *Dormitories*, which was never after to be done: From thence we went to *Doway*, where there was an *Engliſh* Colledge, and Doctor *Kelleſton* the Maſter thereof, and at preſent Doctor *Labourne* who was Maſter *Arundells* Tutor: There we ſtayed ſome time, and after to *Cambray* St. *Quintins*, and ſo to *Paris*; where there was great bemoaning of Duke *Memorancee*'s death, the laſt of that moſt Ancient, and Noble Family, who for joyning with Mounſieur the Kings Brother, in an Inſurrection againſt the King, was beheaded not long before: We ſtayed there about a Month, to fit us for our Winter Quarters in *Orleans*.

In Travel.

Memorancee *beheaded.*

The moſt remarkable paſſage during that time in *Paris* was the beheading of a Noble man's Page, who for ſome miſdemeanour, was condemn'd to Death; and being well beloved of the Pages and Lackeyes, they appeared ſo numerous, that though there was a Horſe-Guard to ſee the Fact done, they could only ſecure his perſon back again to priſon: The next day the King commanded 5000 Souldiers to ſee him Executed, but there appeared near 20000 Pages and Lackeyes Arm'd, that they thought it not fit to take him out of Priſon: The next day the King commanded his whole Army in and about *Paris* to ſee Execution done upon him, and alſo that the Streets ſhould be Chain'd up, and Proclamation made that whoſoever attempted to reſcue him, ſhould be proceeded againſt for his Life; notwithſtanding all which, the

An accident in Paris.

the Pages and Lackeyes appeared ſo numerous and reſolute, that they brought him not out of Priſon, but beheaded him there, and hanged his head ſevered from his body out of the Window; which when the Tumult ſaw, they diſſolv'd, and went their ſeveral waies.

Before the Winter was ended, Mr. *Arundell* got a Heat and a Cold at Tennis, which turn'd to a Feaver, and dyed at *Orleans*, whoſe Death was the end of our Journey, and ſoon after we return'd to *Paris* again, where we ſtayed no longer then to prepare for *England*. But before I leave *France*, I muſt acquaint you with the civility of Doctor *Labourne*, Mr. *Arundell*'s Tutor, whom we left in *Paris*; who notwithſtanding his Pupils death, uſed Mr. *White* and my ſelf with all poſſible kindneſs as before, and according to his promiſe made formerly to my Friends in *England*, never ſtriv'd to alter my Religion; but by his good Life and Converſation, which was ſo exemplary, that all the Muſick and Adornments of Churches and Chappels, with all the Religious Houſes of Monks, Fryers and Nuns, could not perſwade ſo much.

Doctor Labourne his civility.

The paſſage in our Return to *England* was very dangerous, for when we were within a League of the *Engliſh* Shore, our Ship was forc'd back again upon the *French*; but with ſome help from the *Engliſh* Coaſt, Maſter *White* and I came ſafe to *Dover*. One paſſage I cannot omit to declare, that when I went out of *England*, I reſolv'd not to drink between Meals 'till I return'd thither again, which reſolution I kept ſtrictly.

A good reſolution.

Obj. And here me thinks I lye ſo open to the Reader, that he cannot chooſe but ſay, What need is there now of Sorrow, ſince you are paſt all dangers beyond Sea, and come ſafe home; having left the Vice of Intemperance behind you, which was ſome cauſe of your Travels to avoid? If you had juſt cauſe to Sigh when you were abroad, you have juſt cauſe to Rejoyce now you are come home; and 'tis not only Ridiculous but Sinful to Mourn when you ſhould Rejoyce.

I confeſs there is a time for all things, and good Chriſtians ſhould like good Muſicians, keep it; but when I conſider that it is but the beginning of a great work, that I have not ſufficiently repented for doing what I ought not to do; that many Sins are national, and Men are apt to relapſe, when they come into the ſame company with whom they have committed them; and that at beſt, I have conquer'd but the Beaſtial part of Man, there is ſtill great cauſe of Sorrow. *Anſw.*

—— *Lord, give me not only a ſenſe of Sin, but a ſorrow for Sin; and ſince thou haſt begun a good Work in me, grant me, I beſeech thee, the Grace of thy Holy Spirit to perfect it; and let me not think my ſelf ſafe when I have Conquer'd the beaſt within me, but ſtill perſiſt to conquer the man within me, that thou may'ſt be Glorified by my Salvation, and not by my Damnation.* 4th Sigh.

From *Dover* (taking *London* in the way, where I met my Uncle *Sandys* Coach) I made all convenient ſpeed to the *Vine*, where my Father and Mother then were: I need not tell you with what Joy and ſatisfaction I was received of all ſides; and being now taken from the deſign of Travel, and the Inns of Court, whether to retnrn was thought a degradation; I betook my ſelf to Country affairs, and my Father truſted me much with the managing of his Eſtate, (which I took ſome delight in) and alwaies gave me a ſufficient allowance for the Imployment I was in; and in thoſe dayes I never knew what want was. After I had been ſome time there, my Friends furniſh'd me with all accommodations I wanted, as Cloathes, Horſes, *&c.* and ſent me to Count *Arundell* and his Lady, to acknowledge their great kindneſs to me, and to Complement them as well as I could; the Lady (after ſhe had paid her Funeral Tears to the memory of her only Son) told me that now he was Dead, ſhe would take me for her Son; and I had very good cauſe to beleive her, but the difference in Religion as well as other reſpects, would not permit me to be capable of ſo much Honour; yet till her Death *My return to England* *his Uncle kept his Coach*

Death ſhe continued a very great Friend to me. She was a perſon of the greateſt diſcretion, temper and humility, that I think I ever ſaw; what other women pretend to do, ſhe did; ſhe brought her Lord out of a Debt of 10000 *l.* and ſeveral Law Suits; kept a very good Table; bought at leaſt 1000 *l. per ann.* Land, Married five or ſix Daughters, gave at leaſt 6000 *l.* a peece with them, one with another; and allowed her Lord 500 *l. per ann.* to caſt away upon the Philoſophers-Stone.

Lady Arundel A wife indeed.

The Dyet I began with in *France*, I continued in great meaſure in *England*, but not with that ſtrictneſs as not to drink between meals; but this I added to it, in attempting to keep two Lents, but fail'd in both: The firſt gave me an Ague, the ſecond a Feaver, and did my conſtitution much wrong; cauſing vapours to fly up into my Head, that I became very ſickly. When I was in the Country, I did as a Country-man; kept Hounds and Horſes, and us'd much Exerciſe. When I came to *London*, I did the like; as Dancing, Riding the Great Horſe, *&c.* And all this time I kept moſtly an abſtenious dyet, and ſubdued my Body with much Exerciſe. No ſooner came I of full Age, but my Father Dyed, and left me an Eſtate; out of which I can modeſtly ſay, I could have ſpent 800 *l. per ann.* without being in Debt; nor was there any Debt, or Legacy upon it, but only my Mothers Joynture; and I did not owe Ten pounds in all the World. Upon this advance of Fortune, I became more worldly minded than ever; for though I wanted nothing before, I had nothing till then I could call my own: But this continued not long, for after the daies of Mourning were accompliſh'd, I put off my Hounds, put 200 *l.* in my Purſe, and came to *London* and kept my Coach: Where Queen Mother preparing for a Maſque, and many of the Gentry in Honour to the Queen, intended to be Ante-Maſquers; I was alſo deſired to be one, which coſt me my Two Hundred Pounds, yet ſtill I lived within Compaſs of my Eſtate.

The Queens Maſque.

At

At Court I found my ſelf guilty of three Imperfections, that would hinder my preferment there: A Bluſhing modeſty, a Flexible diſpoſition, and no great diligence; when I returned into the Country, my Mother had found me out a great Heir not far from the *Vine*, and had made a fair paſſage for me unto her; and though I was then very averſe unto Marriage, yet in obedience to her Command I went; and when I came thither, I found my Miſtreſs much of mine own temper, and we preſently agreed never to ſee one another more: I had ſeveral other good offers, but none that I approv'd of, till I heard of my Lady *Acheſon*, but that I ſhall reſerve for another Sigh.

5th Sigh.

—— *And now, good God! what a golden opportunity have I loſt? Had I with the labouring Bee laid up in Summer againſt the Winter of mine Age, I had not been now to ſeek, but miſſpent Time and Mony can never be recalled.*

Having uſed all kind of Sports and delights in *Hantſhire*, (which was a pleaſant Country) and at *London*, I began to diſlike my own Eſtate in the Vale of *Glouceſter*, which was ſo dirty, ſo encloſed and ſo far from *London*, that I was not capable of the ſame Delights there; in addition to which my Houſe was burn'd down, and the place as a Seat ſpoil'd by the long inhabiting of Tenants, and I had no other habitable Houſe in the Country; All theſe, together made up an Excuſe of leading the ſame life as before, with this alſo, that the old Lord *Sandys* had given a Mannor of about 200 *l. per ana.* after a life to his Grand-Neeces, whereof my Mother was one, who with another of my Aunts, gave me their ſhare, to buy out the reſt, and the Life in Poſſeſſion coſt me about 1500 *l.* which was the only Debt I then owed for my ſelf, and I propos'd to pay it out of Fines, in letting Coppy-hold Eſtates, or a Marriage Portion, which was very probable, but afterwards my Uncle *Sandys* (to whom I was much obliged in gratitude) falling into a declining

My firſt Debt.

My Engagements and the cauſes of them.

condition by unfortunate Engagements, prevailed upon me to be bound with him in ſeveral Sums of Money, for which he gave me ſufficient ſecurity, but ſo did not a certain Relation of his, for whom I became alſo bound: But both of their Debts lying upon me for ſeveral years, and the War coming on, the miſchief of them could never be recovered.

The firſt News of the Lady Acheſon.

Whil'ſt theſe things were doing, my Mother (being deſirous to ſettle me) had intelligence of a Lady, rendred to be a very great Fortune, who had lately buried her Huſband and Father, by whom ſhe had both Inheritance and Joynture, which prov'd to be my Lady *Acheſon*, and though without ſight, I had a greater opinion of this than any other I ever heard of, yet the perſon from whom this report came, was ſo inconſiderable that I could not believe it, till upon further enquiry 'twas found to be true: How to have acceſs, was now the buſineſs in hand; in order to which the perſon that firſt propos'd it brought a Scotch Captain to my Mother and me, who declared many particulars as to the Eſtate, and pretended great acquaintance with the Lady, but could not procure a Viſit; he then brought me acquainted with Captain *Acheſon*, a Kinſman of her late Husbands, who uſed to eat at her Table, but neither could he bring it to paſs, but put me in a probable way of ſeeing her, which was by entertaining in my Service a Scotch man who Waited upon her firſt Husband, and was well belov'd in the Family, this young man prov'd very honeſt, and the very beſt Servant that ever I had, he went frequently thither, and brought me the true News of the Houſe, by which I might the better mannage my deſign.

After four Months time, I heard ſhe entertained ſome Gentlemen, whom I conjectur'd might go upon the ſame Errand I deſired, which made me reſolve to hazard my Four Months attendance and go my ſelf, from which I was diſſwaded by my man *Irwing*, (for ſo was he called;) about 2 in the Afternoon I went and took him with me, who finding the

the Parlour Door bolted againſt us, went round about and let me in: The Lady ſeeing through a peep-hole a Stranger at the Door, went up to dreſs her ſelf, leaving her two Couſins behind, and ſuppoſing it was her God-mother, (who was to Viſit her that Afternoon) ſent for all the company up to the Dining-Room; whither I went up alſo, and was put in Countenance by a Gentlewoman of Quality that was there, whom I had ſeen twice before: Not long after a Counteſs came thither with her Brother, and the Gentlewoman I had ſome acquaintance with adviſed me to take my leave, which I did; and ſhe did me the Honour to go along with me. Upon this ſucceſs, two dayes after at the ſame time of day I went again, and meeting her Woman, ſhe told me her Lady kept Chamber and was not to be ſeen: I deſired her to preſent my humble Service to her Lady, and tell her I was to wait upon her; and to give me an Anſwer before I went away, which ſhe did, but ſtaid a long time before ſhe return'd; which time was ſpent in debate with her Couſins whether I ſhould be admitted or not, at laſt 'twas concluded I ſhould; I had not been there half an hour, but ſome viſitants came to her again, and I took my leave, which was kindly receiv'd. *My wooing time.*

The Executors (who would have alſo been her Guardians, ſhe being under Age) began to ſuſpect me more than all the reſt, and laid their heads together to beſpatter me, and to ſpoil my further viſiting; and adviſed her to forbid me the Houſe, which ſhe ſaid ſhe could not well do, becauſe I had behav'd my ſelf civilly, and had not propos'd any thing of Love to her, which others had done; and for her to ſuppoſe I came to that end, unleſs I had declared it, would argue too much forwardneſs in her: This gave them little ſatisfaction, yet I found it made my Viſits leſs acceptable to her than before; at laſt a Kinſman of mine hearing by the Ladies Uncle (who was next Heir, and one of the Executors) that I was traduc'd, and aſſuring him that thoſe things

that were ſpoken of me were to his knowledge falſe; and deſired therefore that he would be an Inſtrument to bring me to the Lady to vindicate my ſelf; who promiſed to do it in two daies after, and was as good as his word: When I had vindicated my ſelf, I deſired to ſpeak with her in private, and then, and not before, I told her how much I Honoured her, and to confirm the truth of it, I fell down in a ſound; theſe things rais'd thoughts on all hands, and being prepared to Wait on the King in the Scottiſh Expedition, and my Miſtreſs to go into the Country, upon conſideration, and ſome hopeful words that fell from her, I found *Venus* more influential upon me than *Mars*, and ſtaid behind.

A Journey into the Country.

At her going out of Town, I took my leave of her, but not of her Kinſwomen, becauſe I would not want an excuſe to ſee her the next day, but before Seven in the Morn they were gone, and I after them in a Coach and Four Horſes, and overtook them within a Mile of *Colbrook*; where we Din'd together, and there I wanted an excuſe to carry me further; only, to ſee them part of their way: Within half a Mile, I obſerv'd the Cook-maid very un-eaſie on Horſe-back, and commanded her to be put into the Coach with me, and then drove up to the other Coach, which when my Miſtreſs ſaw, and that I was reſolv'd to go to *Farringdon*; ſhe allowed me one of her Couſins to bear me company: When we came to *Henly*, the beſt Rooms in the Inn were taken up by Sir *William Sandys* my Uncle, who for my ſake, quitted the very beſt Room to her: The next Morn, after I had helped my Miſtreſs into the Coach, I went in my ſelf, and ſat by her, and handed her Couſins in after me; and with much adoe, prevail'd that her Servants and Baggage might be carryed in mine: From thence we went to *Farringdon*, where my Miſtreſs had a Houſe in the Town, I ſtaid a Week, and was all day at my Miſtreſſes Houſe, and ſo to *London* again. But the Executors hearing of this, writ many diſcontented Letters to her, which were

were ſtill rubs in my way, but I made Weekly viſits in the Summer, whilſt ſhe was in the Country; and in the Winter ſhe came up to Town, where we were upon a Treaty of Marriage; but the Executors ſtill zealous to break off the Match, enquired, and found out that I was engaged for Money as before, and preſt that ſo home, that they were very likely to accompliſh their deſign.

—— *Had I read the Scripture with that zeal and frequency as Playes and Romances, I muſt needs have diſcovered the miſery of Suretyſhip; for ſaith* Solomon, *why ſhould thy Bed be taken away from under thee? and King* David *adviſeth, to honour our Creator in the dayes of our Youth: How ſad a condition are they in then that ſerve the Devil with their affection and ſtrength, and God with their decreppit old Age; and how much ſadder thoſe who ſerve him not at all, who do not only with the Fool, ſay in their Heart there is no God, but more lively expreſs it in their Words and Works?* 6th Sigh.

By this time Love began to play the advocate for me with my Miſtreſs, and all diſſwaſions prov'd but as whetſtones to ſharpen the appetite of deſire, the thing now to be done was to ſettle my Eſtate, and make her a convenient Joynture out of it, which being left to the Executors, went on very ſlowly; and many Exceptions were taken to my Eſtate, though my Mother to help me in this great Work, was willing to Surrender her Joynture, and receive recompenſe out of a Leaſe holden of the Dean and Chapter of *Glouceſter*.

Whilſt theſe things were agitating, the Queen had another Maſque, wherein I had a part, and obtained the Honour of my Miſtreſs to ſee it, and becauſe ſhe ſhould not be throng'd, I invited her to a Supper at Court, and had a promiſe from the Lord *Chamberlain* that ſhe ſhould be well Seated; but before we were called up, the Houſe was ſo filled with ordinary People, that ſeveral Counteſſes of the better *Another Maſque of the Queens.*

better ſort could not be admitted to ſee it, which was the cauſe it was repreſented again, and if I had not refuſed to go in without my Miſtreſs, ſhe had not been admitted neither; In the throng I loſt a Diamond Hatband of Three Hundred Pounds price, which being carryed to my Lord *Chamberlain* as his Hatband I had again, but my Miſtreſs got ſo great a diſtemper that the next day ſhe fell Sick of a Quincy, ſent for me and put her ſelf into my hands, and would have no Phyſician but of my providing; She alſo ſetled her Eſtate upon me as well as ſhe could (being under Age) and ſent for my own Uncle to do it. Before ſhe was fully recovered, the Queen commanded the Maſque to be repreſented again, which I hearing of, gave my Habits to a Dancing Maſter and Five Pounds to perform my Part; and ſent to the Lord *Chamberlain*, to deſire him to excuſe my ſo doing: The Queen expreſt a gracious reſentment of the ſorrow I was under, but withal deſired I might perform my Part my ſelf; ſaying, ſhe very well liked that entry, which coming to my Miſtreſs Ear, ſhe alſo deſired me to do it. By this time I was Purſy and Feaveriſh by lying in the Houſe, and the Dancing Maſter proud of my Part, would not let me have my Habit again, but cut it leſs for his own Body, which with a Trowſe I bought to wear under it; that was to big for me, cauſed me to role it up and put it into my Breeches, but upon riſing of Capers it broke my Buttons before, and ſtarted out of my Codpiſs, which was the occaſion of a great deal of Mirth and Laughter, the greateſt part not knowing what they Laught at; amongſt which the *Venetian* Embaſſadors Lady bearing her part, was ſeverely chaſtiſed by her Husband, which ſhe upon a viſit to the then Maſter of the Ceremonies Lady declared, asking alſo, whether all the *Engliſh* Ladies that Laught were ſo ſerv'd: She anſwer'd, 'twas not the faſhion of *England* to do ſo, and ſhe was very ſorry 'twas the faſhion of *Venice*, and that the Gentleman for whom ſhe ſuffered

Love Expreſt.

A foul fall on a fair Lady.

ſuffered, was then in the Houſe; but becauſe ſhe knew it to be the mode of *Venice* not to entertain a perſon of her Quality where a ſtrange Gentleman was, ſhe commanded her Daughters to entertain me in another Room; to which ſhe replyed that ſhe had ſuffered often before, but never for a man whoſe Face ſhe never ſaw: Upon which the Lady *Finnett* caus'd her Daughters to make ſome excuſe to bring me through the Room, and ſo back again; but I never knew the reaſon of it till afterwards, with which ſhe ſeem'd very well ſatisfied.

By this time my Miſtreſs was pretty well recover'd, the Writings were agreed upon and drawn, and ſhe made what ſettlement ſhe pleas'd upon my Eſtate, without one penny portion in mony; and her Eſtate(all but *Farringdon*) in her Uncles hands: And becauſe we would have no more rubs, we agreed to Marry preſently, which was in Lent, about the 20 of *March* 1640. when ſhe was between 19 and 20 years of Age, and my ſelf between 25 and 26. She made choice of her Uncle to give her in Marriage, which he refuſing, Sir *John Finnett* Maſter of the Ceremonies, did it moſt willingly. And now pretenders being laid aſide on the one hand, and adverſaries conquer'd on the other; I took my ſelf to be in an unſhaken Kingdom and expreſt it in the Poeſy of my Wedding Ring, which was much diſliked; and I believe no perſons were ever married together that loved better.

—— *But Lord there is no compleat happineſs in this World!* 7th Sigh. *the end of one miſery is the begining of another; when we think our ſelves moſt firmly eſtabliſh'd, we are ſet but in ſlippery places, which we ſhall never diſcover till we come into thy Sanctuary; for man being in Honour having not underſtanding, is like the Beaſts that periſh.*

Upon this advance of Fortune, which the World eſteem'd no leſs than 20000 *l.* as alſo, that I had Married a Beautiful and Diſcreet Woman: My credit grew ſo high that

that I could borrow but too much Money; my Uncle *Sandys* therefore to preſerve the *Vine*, earneſtly importun'd me to joyn with him in a Judgment of 3500 *l.* for payment of 2500 *l.* without which he could not have the Money (which was the firſt binding Engagement I ever entred into) and a pretended Friend advis'd me to comprize the ſeveral debts; I was bound in for one Mr. *W. S.* in one Sum, to avoid brokeage and preſerve my credit, and he would lend me the Mony, which I conſented to; but when I came to give him ſecurity for it, he made himſelf a Leaſe of 99 Years of a Mannor, and a Statute of 6000 *l.* to perform Covenants; and perſwaded me to give a Statute of ſo great a Sum; for that if I wanted 1000 *l.* more, he would lend it me upon that ſecurity: And here I found the want of an Inns of Court breeding, not knowing the utmoſt danger of a Judgment, or Statute: However, I had ſuch promiſes and proteſtations from both of them I was engaged with, that they would pay theſe Debts within half a Year, that I muſt have been an Infidel not to have believ'd them; and this was the worſt thing that ever I did in my life (as to worldly Affairs) and hath been the cauſe of all my future Miſery.

My firſt binding Engagements.

Theſe Debts lying heavy upon me, and the War coming on, would not ſuffer me to pay my own Debts, (which were then reduc'd to 1000 *l.*) except I paid theirs firſt, which when I diſcovered, afflicted me very much; and then, and not till then, I lookt into my Wives Eſtate, which I found little or nothing ſerviceable to me, for her Uncle (who was the moſt paſſionate and inconſiderable man that ever I knew truſted with ſuch an Eſtate) had poſſeſt himſelf of the whole Eſtate in the *Strand*, both real, and perſonal, (except ſome Houſe-hold-ſtuff) by virtue of a Leaſe of 21 Years, whereby he was Truſtee; and by alone proving the *Will*, whereby he was become ſole Executor, and it was incumbred with Debts and Legacies alſo; the

A great cry and little wooll.

place

place moſt free, and whereof ſhe was poſſeſt, were Lands in *Farringdon*, part whereof was litigious by the claim of Sir *Robert Pye*, another of her Uncles had an Annuity thereout, and the whole lyable to a Charitable uſe: 'Tis true there were ſome Houſes made over upon her firſt Marriage with Sir *Patrick Acheſon*; part whereof were deſtroyed which ought to have been receiv'd by her quietly, but the receipt of the remaining Houſes were alſo interrupted by her Uncle: There were alſo ſeveral other Rents ſhe ought to have had; as 600 *l. per ann.* Joynture out of *Ireland*, part whereof was Mortgaged by Sir *Patrick Acheſon* her firſt Husband, after a Joynture made; and the other part poſſeſt by his Creditors, who obtained the Lord *Straffords* Order for poſſeſſing the ſaid Lands till their Debts were paid; albeit they were made in Joynture before, there was alſo a Rent charge out of *Micheldever*, a Patent for Printing a Salt Work, and ſeveral Adventures, in which her Father had a ſhare; but all poſſeſt by her Uncle: This was the condition I found her Eſtate in. I went therefore to the beſt Councel I could get, to adviſe upon the ſaid *Will*, who found it ſo intricate (as it was prov'd with Codicels) that they adviſed me to agree if poſſible I could; I did then offer her Uncle more than was his due by the *Will* prov'd, and to give ſecurity to perform it; and ſeveral agreements were made to that purpoſe, but all in vain, for he ſtood to none of them; which ſpent a great deal of time: at laſt I was adviſed to put in a Bill in Equity againſt him, and the reſt of the Executors; which with much adoe, my Wife conſented to; but this was to little purpoſe, for before I could bring it to a hearing, the War began, and I returned into the Country with theſe Debts upon me; and here might I cry with King *David*.

— *Save me O God, for the Waters are come in even unto my Soul: I ſtick faſt in the deep Mire where no ground is; I am come into deep Waters, ſo that the Floods run over me:* 8th Pſ. 1, 2.

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but thou O Lord art my Defender, and the lifter up of my Head; O deliver my Soul! and ſave me for thy mercy ſake; ſo ſhall mine Enemies be confounded, they ſhall be turned back, and put to ſhame ſuddainly.

As no Cities nor Counties were free from preparations for War as their affections inclin'd them, ſo the parts about *Glouceſter* (to which I retired,) happened to be moſt Unanimous for the Parliament, which was contrary to my Judgment: For I am perſwaded, that none that heard the Lord *Straffords* Tryal, and weigh'd the Conceſſions of the King in Parliament, could conſcientiouſly be againſt him; but 'twas now too late to remove from thence; for Fears, and Jealouſies, had ſo generally poſſeſt the Kingdom, that a man could hardly travel through any Market Town, but he ſhould be ask'd whether he were for the King, or Parliament. In this nick of time my Servant *Erwing* (who preſently after my Marriage, betook himſelf to the *Gen d' Arms* in *France*) hearing of the War in *England* came over and proffered his Service to me again; whom I received as before: And being well known to his fidelity, I ſent him to *London* to his Brethren the *Scots*, to give me the beſt intelligence he could; who did it moſt truly, and prophetically; and as an Argument of his affection to me, refus'd a Lieutenants Place of Horſe on the Parliaments Side, to continue my Servant. Him I imployed to train up my Horſe, and make them bold; under one *Forbes* his Countryman, who was then Governour of *Glouceſter*; and ſoon after the Battail of *Edghill*, I waited upon the Lord *Chandos* to *Oxon*, not intending at that time, to ſtay any longer than to preſent my ſelf to the King, and to aſſure him of my Duty and Affections: But whilſt I ſtaid there, I received intelligence, that my being at *Oxon* was publiquely known at *Glouceſter*; ſo that I could not return in ſafety; but ſent for the men and Horſes I left behind to come thither after me

A faithful Servant worth gold.

me, and when the Lord *Chandos* had accepted of a Commiſſion to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe, and Muſtred his own Troop, he gave me a Commiſſion for a Troop under him; which I rais'd with ſuch ſucceſs, that within one Month, I Muſtred 60 men beſides Officers, and almoſt all of them well Arm'd; Maſter *Dutton* giving me 30 Steel Backs, Breaſts and Head Peeces, and two Men and Horſes completely Arm'd: And this was done upon Duty, without any advance of Mony, or Quarters Aſſigned; wherein every 4*th* or 5*th* man was loſt. *My raiſing a Troop.*

But as ſome were loſt, others were added; For one *Powell* a Cornet of the Parliaments, with two Troopers, (all very well Horſt and Arm'd,) came into my Troop at *Oxford*: I carryed him to the King, and beg'd his pardon, which the King graciouſly granted; and in token thereof, gave him his Hand to Kiſs; but ask'd him for his Commiſſion, which when he ſaw; he ſaid, he never ſaw any of them before; deſired to keep it, and put it up in his Pocket, and gave him good councel, with very great expreſſions of his Grace and Favour to me.

My Troop I paid twice out of mine own Purſe, and about a fortnight after, at the Seidge of *Briſtoll*, I muſtred 80 men beſides Officers; whereof 20 of them Gentlemen that bore Armes: (Here the Swearing Captains, put the name of the Praying Captain upon me, having ſeen me ſometimes upon my Knees.) The Lord *Chandos* afterwards (though I had the Honour to be allyed to him) us'd my Troop with that hardſhip, that the Gentlemen unanimouſly deſired me to go into another Regiment; which his Lordſhip underſtanding, thought to affix me to his by a councel of War; but failing therein, I was admitted into Prince *Maurice*'s Regiment, which was accounted the moſt Active Regiment in the Army, and moſt commonly plac'd in the out Quarters; which gave me more proficiency as a Souldier, in half a Years time, than generally in the Low Countries in 4 or 5

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years; for there did hardly one Week pass in the Summer half year, in which there was not a Battail, or Skirmish Fought, or beating up of Quarters; which indeed lasted the whole Year, insomuch as for three Weeks at most, I commanded the Forlorn-hope thrice.

Forlorn-hopes.

The first, was at *Little Deane*, in the Forrest of *Deane*, under the Conduct of the then Lord *Grandison*, against Sir *William Wallers* Army; in which was a remarkeable accident: For no sooner had I received the word of Command, but my charging Horse fell a trembling and quaking that he could not be kept upon his Legs; so that I must loose my Honour by an Excuse, or borrow another Horse presently; which with much adoe I did of the Lord *Chandos* his Gentleman of the Horse, leaving twice as much as he was worth with him. The Charge was seemingly as desperate as any I was ever in; it being to beat the Enemy from a Wall which was a Strong Breast Work, with a Gate in the middle; possest by above 200 Musquetteers, besides Horse: We were to charge down a Steep plain Hill, of above 12 score Yards in length; as good a Mark as they could wish: Our party consisting of between Two and Three Hundred Horse, not a man of them would follow us; So the Officers, about 10 or 12 of us, agreed to Gallop down in as good Order as we could, and make a desperate Charge upon them; the Enemy seeing our resolutions, never Fired at us at all, but run away; and we (like young Souldiers) after them, doing Execution upon them; but one Captain *Hanmer* being better Horst than my self, in persuite, fell upon their Ambuscade and was killed Horse and Man: I had onely time enough to turn my Horse and run for my life. This party of ours, that would not be drawn on at first, by this time, seeing our success; came into the Town after us, and stop'd our retreat; and finding that we were persu'd by the Enemy, the Horse in the Front, fell back upon the Rear, and they were so wedg'd together, that they

they routed themſelves, ſo as there was no paſſage for a long time: All this while the Enemy were upon me, cutting my Coat upon my Armour in ſeveral places, and diſcharging Piſtolls as they got up to me, being the outermoſt man; which Major *Cheldon* declar'd to my very great advantage: But when they perſu'd us to the Town, Major *Leighton* had made good a Stone Houſe, and ſo prepared for them with Muſquetteers; that one Volley of Shot made them retreat: They were ſo neer me, that a Muſquet Bullet from one of our own men took off one of the Bars of my Cap I charged with, and went through my Hair, and did me no hurt: But this was onely a Forlorn party of their Army to face us, whilſt the reſt of their Army March'd to *Glouceſter*. At my return to the Rendezvous, 'twas debated at a Councel of War, whether to quarter in the Field all night, or to March to *Tewxbury*; from whence we had drawn too many men: The firſt was reſolv'd upon; but the Enemy finding their advantage, put their Garriſon Souldiers into Boats (who were freſh) and their wearied Souldiers in their rooms, and ſurpriz'd our Garriſon of *Tewxbury* that night; of which we had intelligence by Nine the next Morning.

A great deliverance.

The ſurprize of Tewxbury.

The next Forlorn-hope I was commanded upon, was with Major *Cheldon*, about 4 or 5 Daies after at *Ripple-Feild*, where we did good Execution upon the Enemy; but the Lord *Grandiſon* (as I take it) received at that time a hurt, of which he dyed. We were then Commanded to March towards *Oxon*, to the relief of *Reading*, beſeidged by the Earl of *Eſſex*, with the Kings whole Army that Quartered thereabout: Where I had the Honour to Command the Forlorn hope again; 8 or 10 Daies after, the general Rendezvous was by *Wallingford*; and the Forlorn-hope conſiſting of about 160 Horſe, was ſent out between 8 and 9 of the clock in the Morning; we March'd to *Nettlebed*, and ſo to *Cawſam-houſe*; through as bad way for Horſe to March as ever I ſaw: For the Way was ſo thick

A skirmiſh at Ripple-Feild.

of

of Woods, and Furzes, that in two Miles we could not draw up 8 in Front, ſo as a ſmall party of Horſe might eaſily have retarded our march, and killed ſeveral of us. Our ſecurity might be the illneſs of the way; for none that knew not of our March before, would ever expect Horſe to March in that place: We ſaw not one Scout, or Armed man, till we approach'd *Cawſam* Bridge, and there we found their Army prepared to entertain the Kings. My Station was (not directly, but Obliquely) between the River and a large Barn, within Muſquet ſhot of both; they ſent no party out to Fight us; but within half an hour, the Kings Army appear'd upon a Hill, about a Mile off (himſelf being in Perſon there.) The Cannon play'd upon us, but did us no harm; we Kill'd ſome and took others Priſoners, they miſtaking us for their own Party: Between 12 and 1 of the Clock, the King ſent down ſeveral Regiments to Storm the Barn; without the taking of which, we could not have acceſs to the Body of their Army, which lay moſtly between the Barn and the Bridge: And as the King alwayes adventur'd Gold againſt Silver at the beſt, ſo now he adventur'd as Gallant men as ever drew Sword, againſt mud Walls; for the Barn was as good a Bulwark as Art could invent. 'Twould grieve ones Heart, to ſee men drop like ripe Fruit in a ſtrong Wind, and never ſee their Enemy; for they had made loop-holes through the Walls, that they had the full Bodies of the Aſſaylants for their Mark, as they came down a plain Field; but the Aſſaylants ſaw nothing to ſhoot at but mud Walls, and muſt hit them in the Eye, or looſe their Shot. Upon this diſadvantage I need not tell you what men we loſt; about Three of the Clock, my Party was relieved for half an Hour, and then the Party that relieved us were drawn off again.

Cawſam *Fight.*

Soon after, the Kings Army March'd off (having releiv'd the Town with Ammunition) and my Party was left as-before,

fore, without hope of releif, and the Sun going down; all which daunted my men ſo much, that I could hardly make a Front of 6 men; and indeed the Danger was not ſmall, for Two or Three Hundred Muſquetteers had lin'd the Hedge by this time, within half Muſquet Shot of us and began to play upon us on the one ſide, a Regiment of Foot and Cannon about Muſquet Shot fronted us, and a ſtrong Party of Horſe on the other ſide; ſo as I had much adoe to keep them from running, having a Leiutenant as fearful as any; which to prevent, I was forced to cut ſome of them, and threaten my Leiutenant; with which we ſtuck together, more like a flock of Sheep, than a Party of Horſe; until Prince *Rupert* ſent his Commands by Collonel *Legge*, that I ſhould March off, and make my retreat as well as I could; which by the advice of that Noble Perſon, I did with ſuch ſucceſs, that I loſt not one man. *A deliverance.* About half an Hour within Night as we March'd in a broad Rode, my Scouts diſcovered the Enemy, and came very merrily back; at which my Party took ſuch a fright, that though I deſired them with all importunity (for Command was now laid a Sleep) that but ſix of them all with fixt Piſtolls would go along with me, and I could get no more than two: By this time Draggoones on both ſides the Rode were pelting at us, but at a great diſtance; and a party of Horſe perſu'd us in the Rear; but when they came in a convenient diſtance of us, we three diſcharged at them, and they ran away with ſo great a noiſe, that my Party ſuſpecting they had come on, ran too, but the contrary way; we were afterwards troubled with them no more: And about a quarter of a Mile further, Prince *Rupert* had laid ſo ſtrong an Ambuſcado for them, that if their whole Army had perſued us, I'm confident he had ſcatterred them: Upon this ſervice I was not a quarter of an Hour in fourteen Hours off my Horſes back, and Prince *Rupert* declared he would never put me upon ſo hard duty again. *Clinias and Daranetas.*

— *Lord*

9th Sight. —— *Lord thou haſt been my God, even from my Mothers Womb! Thou haſt delivered me from my cruel Enemies, in the time of greateſt danger, thou art a God Mighty in Battail, the Lord of Hoſts is thy Name: Flies and Lice receiving Commiſſion from thee, can do wonders! and the greateſt Potentates without it, ſhall fly before their moſt deſpiſed Enemies.*

The Advance into the Weſt. Not long after, Prince *Maurice* his Regiment with others, March'd into the *Weſt*, to aſſiſt the then Marqueſs of *Hertford* in raiſing an Army in thoſe Parts (who was made General of the *Weſt*) where Sir *William Waller* had been with his Army before, to raiſe Forces for the Parliament. Prince *Maurice* had ſuch an intire affection to the King, that (not regarding his own Dignity) he took a Commiſſion under the Marqueſs, rather than the Kings cauſe ſhould fail. The Lord *Carnarvan* was General of the Horſe, and Sir *James Hamilton* Major General: We did not much in our March, but raiſe Men and Armes, till we came to *Crock-horne*, where (as I take it) we met the Lord *Hopton* with his Forces from *Cornwall* (having clear'd thoſe parts) which were moſt upon Foot: This addition made us up a pretty marching Army. When we came together, we were quickly upon action; but the *Corniſh* Foot could not well brook our Horſe (eſpecially, when we were drawn up upon Corn) but they would many times let fly at us: Theſe were the very beſt Foot that ever I ſaw, for Marching and Fighting; but ſo Mutinous withal, that nothing but an Alarm could keep them from falling foul upon their Officers. The firſt thing that we attempted (as I remember) was the taking of *Taunton Dean*, which ſtood out at firſt, but when we were prepared to Storm it, they yeilded: I having then a Commiſſion for raiſing a Regiment of Dragoons; my ſelf, and ſome of my Officers went to ſeek for Arms; of which we found many, and obſerving a hole in an Elder hedge, I put in my hand and took out a Bag of Mony; which if our

Taunton Dean taken.

Foot

Foot had eſpied (who were alſo upon the ſearch) they had certainly taken me for the Enemy, and depriv'd me of both it and Life.

After the Garriſon ſettled in *Taunton Dean*, we March'd towards the Enemy, who were then Quartered in, and about the *Bath*; we had 2 very hard daies March thither: But before we came to *Glaſtenbury*, we had intelligence of ſome Forces newly rais'd, Marching towards their Body; whom a Commanded Party of ours perſu'd, and did ſome Execution upon: That day came Sir *Horatio Carew* in to us. When we came to *Wells*, intelligence was given us, that Sir *William Wallers* Army was drawn out on that ſide of *Bath*; we March'd toward them as far as *Chuton*, which I ſuppoſe, is about half way; the Sun was then about an hour high, and many of our Horſe and Foot tyr'd with our March; ſo the Foot had Orders to Quarter at *Wells*, as the head Quarters, and the Horſe thereabouts: The Quarter-maſters were ſent to take up Quarters accordingly; and the Lord *Carnarvan* with his Regiment of Horſe, went to give their whole Army an Alarm; but came ſo near them, that for haſt, they ſent out a freſh Regiment of Horſe, and another of Dragoons to fight him; his Lordſhips Regiment being much waſted, and his Horſes tyred with the long March, were forced to retreat; and the Enemy had the perſuit of them to *Chuton*, where Prince *Maurice* was hurt, and taken Priſoner. We were then a Mile on our way towards our Quarters, when Collonel *Brutus Bucke* acquainted our Regiment with this unwelcome news; which I heard firſt, having the Honour to Command the Rear Diviſion of the Regiment. My Leiutenant Collonel, my Major, and the reſt of the Officers, adviſed what to do in this caſe; and the reſult was, that Prince *Maurice* having himſelf Commanded his Regiment to their Quarters, they were ſubject to a Councel of War, if they ſhould diſobey Command; to which I

Chuton Fight.

Prince Maurice taken Priſoner.

Anſwer'd (being eldeſt Captain) that I was but a Young Souldier, and if they would give me leave, I would draw off my Diviſion and run the hazard of a Councel of War; they told me, they might as well go themſelves, as give me leave to go; but if I would adventure, they would not oppoſe it, but defend me the beſt they could.

I drew off my Diviſion with all poſſible ſpeed, and put them in order, which were not above 100 men; and before we had March'd twelve ſcore Yards, we met the Lord *Carnarvan's* Regiment ſcattered, and running ſo terribly, that I could hardly keep them from diſordering my men (though in a large Champaign) at laſt I met his Lordſhip with his Horſe well nigh ſpent, who told me I was the happieſt ſight he ever ſaw in his life: I told him I was no leſs glad to ſee his Lordſhip; for as yet I had no Command for what I had done, and now I hoped he would give me Command publiquely, to preſerve me from the cenſures of a Counſel, which he did. The Enemy ſeeing a Party make towards them, left their perſuit, and drew up at *Chuton*, and the Lord *Carnarvan*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, with my ſelf, March'd in the head of my Party; this was about half an hour before Sun ſet; and when we came within 20 ſcore of the Enemy, we found about 200 Dragoons half Muſquet Shot before a Regiment of Horſe of theirs in two Diviſions, both in order to receive us. At this punctilio of time, from as Clear a Sun ſhine day as could be ſeen, there fell ſuch a ſuddain Miſt, that we could not ſee Ten Yards off, but we ſtill March'd on; the Dragoons amaz'd with the Miſt, and hearing our Horſe came on; gave us a Volley of Shot out of Diſtance, and diſordered not one man of us, and before we came up to them, they took Horſe and away they Run, and the Miſt immediately vaniſh'd. We had then the leſs Work to do, but ſtill we had enough; for there were 6 Troops of Horſe in 2 Diviſions, and about Three or Four Hundred Dragoons more, that had lined the

A Miſt from Heaven.

the Hedges on both ſides of their Horſe; when we came within 6 Score of them, we mended our pace, and fell into their left Diviſion, Routing and Killing ſeveral of them.

The Dragoons on both ſides, ſeeing us ſo mixt with their men that they could not Fire at us, but they might kill their own men as well as ours; took Horſe and away they run alſo. In this Charge, I gave one Captain *Kitely* quarter twice, and at laſt he was killed: The Lord *Arundel* alſo, took a Dragoons Colours, as if it were hereditary to the Family ſo to do; but all of us overran the Prince, being Priſoner in that Party; for he was on Foot, and had a hurt upon his Head, and I ſuppoſe not known to be the Prince. My Groom coming after us, eſpied the Prince, and all being in confuſion, he alighted from his Horſe, and gave him to the Prince, which carryed him off: And though this was very great ſucceſs, yet we were in as great danger as ever; for now we were in diſorder and had ſpent our Shot, and had not time to charge again; and my Leiutenant and Cornet, with above half the Party, followed the Chaſe of thoſe that ran, within half a mile of their Army; that when I came to Rally, I found I had not 30 men; we had then Three Freſh Troops to Charge, which were in our Rear; but by reaſon of their Marching through a Wainſhard, before they could be put in order: I told thoſe of my Party, that if we did not put a good face upon it, and charge them preſently, before they were in Order, we were all dead Men or Priſoners; which they apprehending, we Charged them; and they made as it were a Lane for us, being as willing to be gone as we our ſelves. In this charge there was but one of my Troop Killed, and 8 hurt. For the wounded men of my Troop, and alſo of my Diviſion I received 20 *s.* a man of Sir *Robert Long*, then Treaſurer of the Army; which was all the Money I ever receiv'd for my Self, or Troops, during the War.

The Prince reſcued by an inconſiderable Perſon.

A great deliverance.

When I came to *Wells*, the Head Quarters; I was ſo Weary that I did not my Duty to the Prince that night, but laid me down where I could get Quarters; I was much unſatisfied for the loſs of my Leiutenant and Colours, of which I had then no account; and laid all the Guards to give me News of them, if they eſcaped. Early in the morning, Mr. *Holmes* my Cornet brought my Colours to me, which pleas'd me very well; but with this allay, that my Leiutenant *Thomas Sandys*, my neer Kinſman, was taken Priſoner, and one more Gentleman of my Troop with him; and that he with ſome few Troopers, took ſuch leaps that the Enemy could not follow them, elſe they had been taken alſo. The next morning I waited upon Prince *Maurice*, and preſented him with a Caſe of Piſtols, which my Uncle *Sandys* brought newly out of *France*; the neateſt that ever I ſaw, which he then wanted; but as yet he knew not the man that mounted him, nor whoſe Horſe it was: When I ſaw the Horſe I knew him, and the man that rid him that day; who was the Groom aforeſaid: The Prince told me he would not part with the Horſe, till he ſaw the man that Horſt him, if he were alive, and Commanded me to ſend him to him; which I did that day, and when he came to the Prince, he knew him, and gave him 10 broad Peices, and told him withal, that he ſhould have any preferment he was capable of. This graceleſs fellow went from my Troop, and took two Troopers with him, none of which ever return'd again: About 15 Years after I ſaw him begging in the Streets of *London*, with a Muffler before his Face, and ſpake inwardly, as if he had been eaten up with the Foul Diſeaſe. That day I went to my Quarters at *Glaſtenbury*, where there was a handſome Caſe of a Houſe, but totally plundred, and neither Bread nor Bear in it; but only part of a Chedder Cheeſe', which looking blew, I found my Foot-boy giving to my Greyhounds, and reproving him for it; he cry'd, ſaying there was nothing elſe

The Prince his gratitude.

A graceleſs Fellow.

to

to give them: For this Chedder Cheese, I was arrested in *London*, which cost me 100 *l.*

The Sunday following I desired Doctor *Cole*, Prince *Maurice*'s Chaplain, to give me and my Troop the Sacrament, which he was willing to do. That morning about 6 my Major *Thomas Cheldon* called upon me, to Dine with Prince *Maurice*; who had invited his Officers to a Buck: I told him what I was to do, *Hang't, hang't Bully, said he merrily thou may'st receive the Sacrament at any time, but thou cann'st not Eat Venison at any time.* But that Reverend Doctor gave me, and all my Troop the Communion that day; and I hope 'tis no vanity to say, this small Party probably preserv'd the whole Army; for had these two Regiments carryed off Prince *Maurice* his person, and cut off the Lord *Carnarvan*, and his Regiment, and given an Alarm to our surbated Foot, and tyr'd Horse, being divided, I know not what had become of us. There was one, intituled to this Action (which was usual in the Kings Army) whom I am sure never Struck Stroke in it, (but was within distance to have fallen into the Rear of the last Three Troops, and to have help't us if he would) but there being no good understanding between Prince *Maurice* and Marques *Hertford*'s Regiments, their Chaplains and Secretaries, whose Places were not to Fight, or to be in the Field; gave seldome true intelligence, but rather as their affections lead them, supposing that if such things were done, they must be done by such and such Persons.

A mad merry saying.

—— *Lord thou art the defender of those that put their trust in thee! it is God that girdeth me with Strength of War, thou teachest mine hands to fight, and makest mine Enemies to turn their backs upon me: Thou that hast caused* Hezekiah's *Sun to go back, and the Red Sea to be dry, to separate between the* Israelites *and the* Egyptians, *hast sent a mist to be a protection* 10th Sigh.

to

to us, and a terrour to our Enemies; not unto us O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the Glory,

After we had refreſh'd our ſelves about a Week in Quarters, we began to ſeek out the Enemy, who were not far off; for four or five dayes, we skirmiſh'd by Parties every day, and kept our Body cloſe together expecting Battail daily. Each Army conſiſting of about 6000 Horſe and Foot, but theirs thought to be moſt; our head Quarters were *Marſhfield*, theirs *Bath*, within five Miles of each other: Very early in the morning we ſent out a Party of Horſe, about 300, commanded by a Major, who did it ſo ill, that encouraged the Enemies Forlorn-hope to advance ſo far, as to give a ſtrong Alarm to our whole Army; and we were forced to draw out in haſt: The Ground we ſtood in, was like a ſtreight Horn, about ſix ſcore Yards over at the end towards *Marſhfield*, and twenty Score over at the end towards their Army; on both ſides encloſed with a Hedge, and Woods without that. They ſtood upon a high Hill which commanded us, that opened to a large Down, from whence they could diſcover our Motions, but we could not theirs; both Bodies within two Miles of each other. For four or five Hours, we ſent Parties out of each Body to Skirmiſh, wherein I think we had the better; but about 3 of the Clock they (ſeeing their advantage) ſent down a ſtrong Party of Horſe, Commanded by Collonel *Burrell*, Major *Vantruske* and others; not leſs than 300, and Five or Six Hundred Dragoons on both ſides of the Hedges, to make way for their advance, and to make good their retreat. And this was the boldeſt thing that I ever ſaw the Enemy do; for a Party of leſs than 1000 to charge an Army of 6000 Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, in their own ground, at leaſt a Mile and an half from their Body.

The Battail of Tog-Hill.

A bold Action by the Enemy.

Our Horſe being placed before our Foot and our Cannon, were commanded off Troop by Troop; and being with-

within half Muſquet Shot of the Hedges lin'd on both ſides by their Dragoons; ſeveral Horſes were kill'd, and ſome of our men; their Muſquets playing very hard upon our Horſe, made us retreat ſo diſorderly, that they fell foul upon our Foot; and indeed there was not room enough for us to retreat in order, unleſs we had gone upon the very mouths of their Muſquets: I ſuppoſe the *Stratagem* was to draw on their Party of Horſe upon our Foot and Cannon, the better to rout them, and then our Horſe to fall in upon them to do Execution; for the Dragoons making their way by Pioneers, were not diſcovered till they Shot. Our Commanders ſeeing the Army in ſuch diſorder, and the Enemies Horſe Marching near us; commanded the then Marqueſs *Hertfords* Life-guard of Horſe to Charge them, who never charged before; which was then Commanded by that Honourable and Loyal Perſon the Lord *Arundell* of *Trarice*: I ſeeing all like to have been loſt, unleſs a ſuddain Check were given to this Party of Horſe; deſired him to give me leave to charge with him, with theſe words, *That we would anſwer for one another that day:* We charged together, and both of us fell upon the Commander in Chief, and hurt him ſo, that he reel'd and wheel'd off, and the Party with him; there were ſeveral others hurt and kill'd on each ſide, of the Marqueſſes Life-guard Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Barker*, Gentlemen of Quality.

A timely Check given to the Enemy.

'Twas now no time to draw out a Party of Commanded men, but the Lord *Carnarvan* (according to his uſual courſe) drew up his Regiment as ſoon as poſſible, and perſu'd them almoſt to their Body, and kill'd and took ſeveral Priſoners; in which Charge (or ſoon after) he had a Shot in the Leg, that diſabled him for further Service at that time. The Enemy to encourage us to proſecute this ſucceſs, gave all the Symptomes of a Flying Army; as blowing up of Powder, Horſe and Foot running diſtractedly upon the edge of the Hill, for we could ſee no further: Theſe ſignes made Sir

Sir *Robert Welſh* importunately deſire the Prince to have a Party to follow the Chaſe, which he gave him the Command of, and me of the reſerve; but when he came up the Hill, and ſaw in what order they lay, he ſoon quit his imployment there; and deſired he might have my Command and I his, which was ordered accordingly. As I went up the Hill, which was very ſteep and hollow, I met ſeveral dead and wounded Officers brought off; beſides ſeveral running away, that I had much ado to get up by them. When I came to the top of the Hill, I ſaw Sir *Bevill Grinvil's* ſtand of Pikes, which certainly preſerv'd our Army from a Total rout, with the loſs of His moſt pretious life: They ſtood as upon the Eaves of an Houſe for ſteepneſs, but as unmovable as a Rock; on which ſide of this ſtand of Pikes our Horſe were, I could not diſcover; for the Air was ſo darkned by the ſmoak of the Powder, that for a quarter of an Hour together (I dare ſay) there was no light ſeen, but what the fire of the Volleys of Shot gave; and 'twas the greateſt Storm that ever I ſaw, in which though I knew not whether to go, nor what to do, my Horſe had two or three Muſquet Bullets in him preſently, which made him tremble under me at that rate, that I could hardly with ſpurs keep him from lying down; but he did me the ſervice to carry me off to a lead Horſe, and then dyed: By that time I came up to the Hill again, the heat of the Battail was over, and the Sun ſet, but ſtill pelting at one another half Muſquet Shot off: The Enemy had a huge advantage of ground upon our men, for their Foot were in a large Sheep-cot, which had a ſtone wall about it as good a defence againſt any thing but Cannon as could be, and ours upon the Edge of the Hill, ſo ſteep that they could Hardly draw up; 'tis true there were ſhelves near the Place like *Romiſh* Works, where we quartered that night, but ſo ſhallow that my Horſe had a Bullet in his neck: We pelted at one another till half an hour before day, and then we heard

Sir Bevill Grinvill *Slain.*

heard not any noiſe, but ſaw light matches upon the wall, which our Commander obſerving, ſent one to diſcover whether they had quit the Feild or not, who brought news that they were gone.

There were killed of Officers that day, Sir *Bevill Grinvill*, Major *Lower*, Lieutenant Collonel *Wall*, *&c.* Hurt, the Lord *Carnarvan*, Collonel *Bennett*, *&c.* and ſeveral other Officers taken Priſoners; and more than all theſe run away to *Oxon*, to carry tydings of our defeat before it was. At the Councel of War that night, were Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Hopton*, Sir *James Hamilton*, Major *Cheldon*, and ſome others; the reſult of that Councel was, that if the Enemy fell upon us, every man to ſhift for himſelf: In order to which, the Cannon were drawn off; ſo that this Battail was ſo hard fought on both ſides, that they forſook the Feild firſt, and we had leave ſo to do. The next morning was very clear, and about half an hour after Sun riſing, we Rendezvous'd our Horſe and Foot upon *Togge Hill*, between the Hill where we Quartered all night, and *Marſhfeild*; Major *Cheldon* and my Self, went towards the Lord *Hopton*, who was then viewing the Priſoners taken, ſome of which, were carried upon a Cart wherein was our Ammunition; and (as I heard) had Match to light their Tobacco; the Major deſired me to go back to the Regiment, whilſt he receiv'd orders of his Lordſhip: I had no ſooner turn'd my Horſe, and was gone 3 Horſe lengths from him, but the Ammunition was blown up, and the Priſoners in the Cart with it; together with the Lord *Hopton*, Major *Cheldon*, and Cornet *Waſhnage*, who were near the Cart on Horſe back, and ſeveral others: It made a very great noiſe, and darkened the Air for a time, and the Hurt men made lamentable Screeches. As ſoon as the Air was clear, I went to ſee what the matter was; there I found his Lorſhip miſerably burnt, his Horſe ſing'd like parch'd leather, and *Thomas*

The Ammunition Blown up.

Cheldon (that was a Horſe lengths further from the blaſt) complaining that the fire was got within his Breeches, which I tore off as ſoon as I could, and from as long a Flaxen head of Hair as ever I ſaw, in the twinckling of an eye, his head was like a *Black-Moor*; his Horſe was hurt, and run away like mad, ſo that I put him upon my Horſe, and got two Troopers to hold him up on both ſides, and bring him to the head Quarters, whilſt I March'd after with the Regiment.

The Enemy (having intelligence of this diſaſter, and alſo a recruit that night of Freſh men) gave us no time to repair our loſſes; but March'd up to our head Quarters, before we could bury our dead, or make proviſion to ſecure our wounded; but *Waſhnage* dyed and gave me his chargeing Horſe, which I much wanted; the reſt (which were many) were provided for, either in the Marqueſſes Coach, or Litters made with Boards, except Maj. *Tho. Cheldon*, who was left to the mercy of the Enemy; which he perceiving made ſhift to get to the Rendezvous, and when he found there was nothing but a Cart provided for him, what with the cold he took, but rather I think, out of the Magnanimity of his Courage, as ſoon as he was put in there, he immediately dyed; by whoſe death I loſt my Martial Miſtreſs, but had not time to bewail it; whoſe death when the Prince heard of, he ſent ſeveral Officers to bring me to him, and gave me his place publiquely in the Feild, with the greateſt Honour and kindneſs imaginable: I was alſo that day made Adjutant General of the Army.

Major Cheldon *dyed.*

The Foot and Cannon (by the loſs of Ammunition) became wholly unſerviceable to us. The Enemy perſu'd, and we were to make our retreat to the *Deuizes*, otherwiſe call'd the *Vies*; Leiutenant Collonel *Nevill* was Commanded to bring up the Rear, which he did with that Gallantry, and good Conduct, that we kill'd as many of the Enemy as they did of us; when the Foot came ſafe to the *Vies*,

Our Retreat to the Viſe.

Vies, and that the Horſe had only done that Service; inſtead of calling us run away Horſe (which the *Corniſh* uſed to do) they call'd us gallant Horſe; for the *Corniſh* Foot knew not till then the Service of Horſe. When we came to the *Vies*, there was found (as I heard) two Barrels of Powder, and the Bell-ropes made Matches; and 'twas Fortified as well as it was capable of, in a ſhort time. While our Army was in and about the *Vies*, our Scouts gave no ſatisfactory account for ſeveral hours where the Enemy was; whereupon Sir *James Hamilton* Commanded me perſonally to ſeek out the Enemy and give a certain account where they were, or never to return again: 'Twas my good fortune in leſs than half an hour to fire at one of their Scouts, and by his flight to diſcover their whole Body, of which I gave full ſatisfaction.

The Enemy made no near approaches to the Town, nor did they ſtorm it on any Part; our Horſe being ſtill in a condition to give them a Charge: Sir *James Hamilton* gave me the Honour and Truſt to Quarter our Horſe where I thought fit, giving him an account (at the Counſel of War, whether he was then going) what I had done: After I had quartered them in a very convenient place, I went to the Counſel of War; where I found the General Officers, and ſome few more at Supper; Prince *Maurice* ask'd me whether I had Quarter'd the Horſe well, and I told him I had; he bid me ſay no more but ſit down to Supper, after Supper, all but the General Officers and ſome others withdrew, and I gave my account and afterwards proffered to withdraw, but I was permitted to ſtay; and after the Counſel reſolved what to do, I was commanded to draw up the Horſe into the Market-place, where Sir *James Hamilton* received them.

—— *Lord thou haſt qualified our hopes with fears! thou* 11th Sigh.
art gone far from us, and goeſt not forth with our Armies,

thou makeſt us to turn our backs upon our Enemies, thou hideſt thy Face, and forgetteſt our miſery and trouble, thou haſt compaſſed us about with our Enemies; But Lord ariſe, help us and deliver us for thy Mercies ſake! for through thee will we overthrow our Enemies, and in thy name will we tread them under that riſe up againſt us.

About midnight, our Horſe march'd, or rather made an eſcape out of Town, leaving the Foot behind us; we met not the Enemy at all, but ſome of our own Forces, whoſe fears ſcattered them, and we were like to fall foul upon each other: They were part of the Horſe that ſhould have come to our Aſſiſtance, but hearing ill news ſecur'd themſelves, *viz.* the Lord *Craffords* Regiment, between Three and Four Hundred, and Collonel *James Longs* Regiment, between Two and Three Hundred. At the break of day, we were at leaſt 8 Miles from the *Vies*, and free from all Enemies, between that and *Oxon*; Prince *Maurice* and ſeveral of the Officers Gallop't to *Oxon*, to be there as ſoon as they could; but my Horſe had caſt two Shoes, and I was forced to ſtay behind to ſet them at *Lambourne*, where leaning againſt a Poſt, I was ſo ſleepy that I fell down like a Log of Wood, and could not be awakned for half an hour: 'Twas impoſſible then to overtake them; ſo I went to *Farringdon*, being not able to reach *Oxford* that Night; I fell off my Horſe back 'twice upon the *Downes*, before I came to *Farringdon*, where I reel'd upon my Horſe ſo extreamly that the People of the Town took me to be dead Drunk: When I came to my Houſe (for there I ſomtimes liv'd) I diſpatch'd a Man and Horſe preſently to the Prince to receive Orders, and deſired my Wives Aunt to provide a Bed for me; The good woman took me to be Drunk too, and provided a Bed for me preſently, where I Slept at leaſt Fourteen hours together without waking.

The retreat of the Horſe to Oxford.

The next Morning I had Orders that the Rendezvous was

was about *Marlborough*, whether I went with ſeveral Horſe quartered at *Farringdon*, and came timely thither: The Lord *Wilmott* was ſent with a recruit of Horſe from *Oxon*, and I ſuppoſe all the Horſe at that Rendezvous were about 1800 and two ſmall peices of Cannon: We loſt no time, but March'd towards the Enemy, who ſtood towards the top of the Hill; the Foot in the middle between two Wings of Horſe, and the Cannon before the Foot: There were four Hills like the four corners of a Dye, in ſuch a Champaign, as 40000 men might Fight in. Upon one of the Hills we diſcharged our Cannon, to give notice to our Foot that we were come to their releif: Then Forlorn-hopes outof each Army were drawn out, and the Lord *Wilmotts* Major, *Paul Smith* Commanded ours, who did it with that gallantry, that he beat them into the very Body of their left Wing, and put them out of Order; which we took advantage of, and immediately charg'd the whole Body; the Charge was ſo ſuddain that I had hardly time to put on my Armes, we advanc'd a full Trot 3 deep, and kept in order; the Enemy kept their Station, and their right Wing of Horſe being Curiaſeers, were I'me ſure five, if not ſix deep, in ſo cloſe Order, that *Punchinello* himſelf had he been there, could not have gotten in to them.

Engagement at Round-way-Down.

All the Horſe on the left hand of Prince *Maurice* his Regiment, had none to charge; we charging the very utmoſt man of their right Wing: I cannot better compare the Figure of both Armies than to the Map of the Fight at Sea, between the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniſh* Armadoes, (only there was no half Moon) for though they were above twice our number; they being ſix deep, in cloſe order, and we but three deep, and open, (by reaſon of our ſuddain charge) we were without them at both ends: The Cannoneers ſeeing our reſolution, did not fire their Cannon. No men ever charg'd better than ours did that day, eſpecially

cially the *Oxford* Horſe, for ours were tyr'd and ſcattered, yet thoſe that were there did their beſt. 'Twas my fortune in a direct line to charge their General of Horſe, which I ſuppos'd to be ſo by his place; he diſcharged his Carbine firſt, but at a diſtance not to hurt us, and afterwards one of his Piſtols, before I came up to him, and miſt with both: I then immediately ſtruck in to him, and touch'd him before I diſcharged mine; and I'm ſure I hit him, for he ſtagger'd, and preſently wheel'd off from his Party and ran.

My Engagement with Sir Arthur Haſlerigge

Here I muſt deſire the Readers to be very particular in this relation, becauſe Twenty ſeveral Perſons have intituled themſelves to this Action; and a Knight that ſhall be nameleſs, that is dead (ſpeaking of his great Services and ſmall rewards to me) told me the very enſuing ſtory himſelf, all but that he could not give ſo good reaſon as I could, why it was Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*. When he wheel'd of, I perſu'd him, and had not gone Twenty Yards after him, but I heard a Voice ſaying, *'Tis Sir* Arthur Haſlerigge *follow him*; but from which Party the Voice came I knew not they being joyn'd, nor never did know till about Seven Years ſince, but follow him I did, and in Six ſcore Yards I came up to him, and diſcharg'd the other Piſtol at him, and I'm ſure I hit his head, for I touch'd it before I gave fire, and it amazed him at that preſent, but he was too well Armed all over for a Piſtol Bullet to do him any hurt, having a Coat of Male over his Arms, and a Head-peece (I am confident) Muſquet proof, his Sword had two Edges and a Ridge in the middle, and mine a Strong *Tuck*; after I had ſlackned my pace a little, he was gone Twenty Yards from me, riding three quarters ſpeed, and down the ſide of a Hill, his poſture was waving his Sword on the right and left hand of his Horſe, not looking back whether he were perſued or not, (as I conceive) to daunt any Horſe that ſhould come up to him; about Six Score more

I came up to him again (having a very ſwift Horſe that Cornet *Waſhnage* gave me) and ſtuck by him a good while, and try'd him from the Head to the Saddle, and could not penetrate him, nor do him any hurt; but in this attempt he cut my Horſes Noſe, that you might put your finger in the Wound, and gave me ſuch a blow on the inſide of my Arm amongſt the Veins that I could hardly hold my Sword; he went on as before, and I ſlackened my pace again, and found my Horſe drop Blood, and not ſo bold as before; but about Eight Score more I got up to him again, thinking to have pull'd him off his Horſe; but he having now found the way, ſtruck my Horſe upon the Cheek, and cut off half the Head-ſtall of my Bridle, but falling off from him, I run his Horſe into the Body, and reſolv'd to attempt nothing further than to kill his Horſe; all this time we were together hand to fiſt.

In this nick of time came up Mr *Holmes* to my aſſiſtance, (who never fail'd me in time of danger) and went up to him with great reſolution, and felt him before he diſcharg'd his Piſtol, and though I ſaw him hit him, 'twas but a flea-biting to him; whilſt he charg'd him, I imployed my ſelf in killing his Horſe, and run him into ſeveral places, and upon the faultring of his Horſe his Head-peece opened behind, and I gave him a prick in the Neck, and I had run him through the Head, if my Horſe had not ſtumbled at the ſame place; then came in Captain *Buck* a Gentleman of my Troop, and diſcharged his Piſtol upon him alſo, but with the ſame ſucceſs as before, and being a very ſtrong Man, and charging with a mighty Hanger, ſtorm'd him and amaz'd him, but fell off again; by this time his Horſe began to be faint with bleeding, and fell off from his rate, at which ſaid Sir *Arthur*, *What good will it do you to kill a poor Man*, Said I *take quarter then*, with that he ſtopt his Horſe, and I came up to him, and bid him deliver his Sword, which he was loth to do; and being tyed twice about

Sir Arthur takes Priſoner.

about his wriſt, he was fumbling a great while before he would part with it; but before he delivered it, there was a run-away Troop of theirs that had eſpied him in hold; Sayes one of them *My Lord General is taken Priſoner*; Sayes another, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge is taken Priſoner, face about and Charge*; with that they Rallied and charg'd us, and reſcued him; wherein I received a Shot with a Piſtol, which only took off the Skin upon the blade bone of my Shoulder,

Sir Arthur reſcued.

Hos ego verſiculos feci tulit alter honores.

This Story being related to the late King at a ſecond, or third hand, his Anſwer was, *Had he been Victual'ed as well as fortified, he might have endur'd a Seidge of Seven Years*, &c. His Horſe died in the Place, and they hors'd him upon another, and went away together. 'Twas one of the beſt Horſes the late King had at the Mewes he rid upon, and 'twas the late Kings Saddle, which I had; and when I went to the Parliament Quarters, I gave it to Sir *Henry Wroth*: When we came back to the Army (which in ſo confuſed a Feild was difficult to do) we found the Enemies Foot ſtill in a cloſe Body, their Muſquets lin'd with Pikes, and fronting every way, expecting their Horſe to rally and to come to their relief; in the mean time our Horſe charged them, but to no purpoſe, they could not get into them; at laſt, when they ſaw our Foot March from the *Vies*, and come within a Mile of them, they ask'd quarter, and threw down their Arms in a moment: We loſt few men (eſpecially of quality) and they many; Sir *James Hamilton* was very much hurt, and Leiutenant Collonel *Molesworth* my Leiutenant Collonel, who went to *Oxford*; by whoſe abſence I commanded the Regiment in cheif: When I alighted I found my Horſe had done Bleeding, his cuts being upon the Griſly part of his Noſe, and the Cheek near the Bone; I bid my Groom have a great care of him, and go into Quar-

The defeat at Round-way-Hill.

quarters immediately; but inſtead of going into Quarters, this Rogue went directly to *Oxford*, left my hurt Horſe at *Marlborough* with a *Farrier*, and ſold another *Barb* of mine at *Oxon*, and carried my Portmanteau with him into the *North*, which had all my Clothes and Linnen in it, and other things worth above 100 *l.* and I never ſaw him more: My charging Horſe I had again, and ſome Mony for my *Barb*, which was bought at an under value, being no good Title: But for want of a Shift (my Wound having Bloodied my Linnen) I became ſo lowſy in three or four daies, that I could not tell what to do with my ſelf; and when I had got a Shift, which was not till we took *Bath*; my Blood, and the Sweat of my Body had ſo worn it, that it fell off into Lint.

——*O Lord thy Wrath endureth but the twinckling of an Eye! Sorrow may endure for a Night, but Joy cometh in the Morning: Thou haſt not ſhut me into the hands of the Enemy, but haſt ſet my Feet in a large Room; thou haſt been my hope and a ſtrong Tower for me againſt the Enemy: The Lord is on my ſide, I will not fear what man can do unto me: Through God ſhall we do great Acts, and it is he that ſhall tread down our Enemies; the Lord of Hoſts is with us, the God of* Jacob *is our refuge.* 12th Sigh.

Soon after the Priſoners and Trophies and the Matters of the Field were diſpoſed off, a Council of War was called at the *Vies*, and Prince *Maurice* ſent for me thither to attend him, as ſoon as I was come he had notice and came out to me, and bid me wait there, telling me, that he intended to ſend the Trophies, and Letters to the King by me; but upon compariſon of Commiſſions, 'twas found that the Lord *Wilmott* was Commander in chief for that expedition, who ſent Sir *Robert Welſh*, and I returned to my Quarters. After we were refreſh'd in our Quarters, we March'd to *Bath*; which Town the Enemy had newly quitted, and *Prince* Maurice *his kind intentions towards me.*

98.

March'd, or rather retreated to *Briſtoll*; there I found my Leiutenant *Tho. Sandys*, formerly taken Priſoner, recovering of his Wounds, but not well able to go abroad: We were very glad to ſee each other, and I deſired him to tell me the manner of his being taken; he told me, he perſued the Enemy too near their Body, and they ſent out freſh Horſe upon him and took him, and gave him Quarter without asking; but after he was their Priſoner, a *Scot* Shot him into the body with two Piſtol Bullets, which were ſtill in him, ſo that he was very near death: That when he was brought to the Town, Sir *William Waller* enquiring what Priſoners were taken, heard of his name, and came to ſee him; he ſeem'd exceeding angry at the inhumane Action that befel him, and ſent for his own Chirurgion immediately, and ſaw him dreſt before he went away; he gave the Inn-keeper charge that he ſhould have what ever he call'd for, and he would ſee him paid; that whatſoever Woman he ſent for to attend him, ſhould be admitted, and lent him Ten broad Peices for his private expences; and before he March'd to *Briſtoll*, he came to ſee him again, and finding him not able to March, took his Parole, to render himſelf a true Priſoner to him at *Briſtoll* when he was able to ride; which I found (for his word ſake) he was inclinable to do; to which I anſwered, that he was now made free by as good Authority as took him Priſoner, and that I expected he ſhould return to his Command; upon which we ſtruck a heat and at laſt referred the buſineſs to the Lord *Carnarvan* to determine.

Sir William Waller Humanity.

The Caſe we agreed to be *Whether a Priſoner upon his Parole to render himſelf to the Enemy, being afterwards redeemed by his own Party, ought to keep his Parole or not.* His Lordſhip heard Arguments on both ſides; at laſt ſaid thus, that there had been lately a preſident in the Council of War in a Caſe of like nature, wherein it was reſolv'd, that if the Priſoner (being redeem'd by a Martial

A Caſe in War determined.

Power

Power without any conſent of his own) ſhall afterwards refuſe the command he was in before, and attempt to render himſelf Priſoner to the Enemy, he ſhall be taken as an Enemy, and be kept Priſoner by his own Party; the reaſon ſeems very ſtrong, becauſe he may be prevailed upon by the Enemy to betray his own Party; and the freeing of his Perſon, gives him as it were a new Election; and if he chooſe rather to be a Priſoner than a Free-man; it demonſtrates his affection to be there. But this did not ſatisfie my Leiutenant, for he would not take his Place as before, but March'd along with the Troop as my Priſoner, till the taking of *Briſtoll* (the place where he promiſed to render himſelf) and then he thought he was fully abſolv'd from his Parole, and betook himſelf to his imployment again.

When we came to *Briſtoll*, Prince *Rupert* (whoſe very name was half a Conqueſt) with the *Oxford* Army lay before it on the Weſt ſide, and Prince *Maurice* with the *Weſtern* Army on the Eaſt: Both Armies being not half enough to beſeidge it; our *Corniſh* Foot were to fall on firſt, which they perform'd with a great deal of gallantry and reſolution; but it proving the Stronger part of the Town, they were beaten off, with a great deal of loſs; When they found it inacceſſible, they got Carts laden with Faggots, to fill up the graft; but it being ſo deep, and full of Water (though they attempted it again very gallantly) they could do no good upon it; but as gallant men as ever drew Sword (pardon the Compariſon) lay upon the ground like rotten Sheep: Amongſt which were ſlain Collonel *Brutus Buck*, Sir ~~William~~ *Slaning*, Collonel *Trevanion*, with many more; howſoever this loſs of ours drew the Town Forces that way, which might be ſome advantage to Prince *Ruperts* Forces, who ſtorm'd that part of the Town with ſuch irreſiſtable Courage, that forced them from their Works, and gave admiſſion to the Horſe; who ſoon beat them from their Guards, and took the Town; *Nicolas*

The taking of Briſtoll.

by taking of which, the West was upon the matter cleared, for this gave such a reputation to our Army, that made all the Garrisons thereabout willing to come in upon Terms, as *Dorchester* and *Poole* came in to the Lord *Carnarvan*, who was sent with a Party of less than a 1000 men, to demand them; both which rendred within one Week. I cannot tell whether the Articles were too large; but I too much feared the not strictly performing them, did moulder two gallant Armies; the one before *Lime*, the other before *Glouceſter*, that otherwise might have come in; which had they taken, or the Field Army March'd up to *London*, to have joyn'd with the Marques of *Newcastle*, who was then successful in the *North*; there had been probably, an end of the War on the Kings side; but this is not to the purpose in hand, for which I ask Pardon, and return to my self.

The taking of Dorchester and Poole.

When we were possest of *Bristoll*, and the lesser Garrisons came tumbling in to the obedience of the King, I took the Kings Crown to be settled upon his head again; and my place of Major to the Prince, being supplyed by a more knowing Officer, I desired leave to return to my private condition as before, and to march with the Army that was to beseidge *Glouceſter*, hoping to possess my Estate there; offering my Leiutenant, Cornet, and several other Gentlemen the Command of my Troop, all which refus'd to serve in my place; so that it ceast to be a Troop, and became a little Army, for in less than a Week, I preferred Twenty of them to be Captains, Leiutenants, and Cornets.

The Seidge of Glouceſter.

After the Seidge of *Glouceſter was rais'd*, the Parliament that were very low before, began to prick up their ears again; and I retir'd to *Oxford*, where I was offer'd several very good Commands, but refus'd them all: At length Mony began to grow short, and my Wives Estate and mine, were chiefly in the Parliament Quarters; my Wife therefore

therefore went up to *London* to make Mony, there being ſeveral Hackney Coaches come down with the Commiſſioners, which were to treat at *Oxford*, which had the Parliaments Paſs, to go up and down; by which means, I thought ſhe might go ſafely; yet I endeavoured to get a Paſs of the Lord General alſo, but could not obtain it ſo ſoon as the Coach was to return; ſo ſhe adventured without a Paſs, which prov'd very unhappy, for at *Nettlebed*, a party of Sir *Jacob Aſhley's* Souldiers (who was then Governour of *Reading*) took her Priſoner, and carried her to *Reading*, where the Waters being then overhigh, ſhe took a great fright. When ſhe was brought to *Reading*, Young Sir *John Cademan*, ask'd the Souldiers who ſhe was, and when he underſtood ſhe was my Wife, he us'd her with all the reſpect that could be, and waited on her to the Governour, who for my ſake expreſt many civilities to her; and ſent a guard with her into the Parliament Quarters.

My wives unhappy Journey to London.

When ſhe came to *London*, ſhe found her Houſe full of Souldiers, and could not be admitted there, but lodg'd at the Houſe of one of her Tenants that joyn'd to it; where ſeeing her Goods carried away before her Face, and finding her Uncle (who was poſſeſt of her Eſtate) inhumanely unkind to her, ſhe fell ill and miſcarried (as I underſtood) of three Children, and was very near her death; yet in this Sickneſs ſhe ſent a Token to me, by a kinſman to *Oxford*, and deſired a Lock of my Hair, which ſhe had. Here I muſt not omit to tell you, that though her own Uncle us'd her moſt unlike a Chriſtian, yet my Uncle us'd her as his own Child; from whom ſhe had advice and protection, or any thing elſe ſhe wanted. After, I thought fit to remove to *Briſtoll*, and ſhe unſatisfied with my abſence, ſent a Gentlewoman of quality to ſee how I did there; who was forced to go the greateſt part of the way on Foot, the War being then ſo hot, that men could not Travel. After half a Years ſtay at *Briſtoll*, I came to *Oxford* again, towards the

Her great kindneſs to me.

the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; whether the King ſent me with Letters to his Commiſſioners: My Wife retiring thereabouts for Ayre, heard of it, and came to me, but yet ſo weak, that when ſhe alighted out of the Coach, ſhe fell into a Swound, and came not to her ſelf in half a quarter of an Hour: There I ſtaid as long as the Treaty laſted; being the very laſt Meſſenger that was ſent back to *Oxford*; and I remember the Meſſage was, that the Parliament Miniſters were now upon proving *Presbitery* to be *Jure Divino*. After that Treaty, I ſtaid not long at *Oxford*, having no imployment in the Army; but ask'd the Kings leave to go up to *London*, who did not only give me his free leave, but withall, directions how I ſhould carry my ſelf there, to this effect, *viz.*

The Kings gracious advice.

I know you are too much a Gentleman, and my Friend, to do me any prejudice; and if you will do me any good, it muſt be by getting an intereſt in your Friends and Tenants, and putting Mony in your Purſe: I know there will be thoſe that will ariſe in my behalf, but they will be ſo ſmall and inſignificant, that it will but eſtabliſh my Enemies the better; by no means joyn with them, but the time will come, in which my People will return to their obedience; and though perhaps I may never ſee it my ſelf, I am confident my Son ſhall.

And ſo gave me his hand to kiſs, and the Lord of *Briſtoll* then Secretary, gave me a Paſs, and Collonel *Legg*, then Governour of *Oxford*, gave me direction which way to go, having alſo a Paſs from the Speaker of Parliament.

But before I leave *Oxford*, I muſt acquaint you with one paſſage there; though I have ever obſerved *Tullyes* rule, that true Valour is neither to do, nor ſuffer injury, and have avoided Duels as much as in Honour I could (rather to preſerve a good Conſcience, than an ill Carcaſe) yet ſome I have been very near, of which I will onely name one.

In

In *Oxford*, a Knight provoked me with ſo ill Language, that I could not forbear ſtriking of him; and being very angry, I took his Perriwig off from his Head and trampled it under my Feet: The next morning he ſent me a Challenge by his ſecond, a perſon of Quality, who found me in Bed: I deſired him to ſtay a little, and I would ſend for my ſecond, to go along with him to his Friend, which he did; when I ſent my Servant for my ſecond, I alſo commanded him to ſecure a good Charging Horſe by the way, (intending to Fight him on Horſe-back;) in leſs than half an Hour, my Second and Servant came to me, and then (having the priviledge to chooſe Time, Place, and Weapon) I told him I would meet his Friend and himſelf, with this Gentleman my Second, on Horſe-back in *Bullington Green*, between two and three of the Clock that afternoon, with Sword and Piſtolls, and without Arms, and ſhewed him my Sword and Piſtols; ſaying withal, I would not except againſt any his Friend ſhould bring; which he deſired me to ſend in Writing, and I did it by mine own Second, who brought me word back, that all was well accepted: We all din'd together with other Company (as we us'd to do) without any ſuſpicion of a Quarrel, that I know of, after dinner, my Second and I mounted, and as we paſt by *Magdalen* Colledge (which was the way to the place appointed) the Second on the other ſide, call'd to my Second, deſiring to ſpeak with him, his buſineſs was to perſwade me to alight, and treat of the matter in his Chamber there; they both intreated me to alight, aſſuring me 'twas not diſhonourable, but fit ſo to do; but I not convinc'd by their arguments, utterly refus'd, unleſs the Principal himſelf would come and deſire it, and abſolve me from my promiſe of meeting him at the place appointed; which he did, and then we went up together to his Seconds Chamber, where we found an Earl (whoſe Siſter the Knight had Married) who alſo pretended Friendſhip to me; he urg'd how

A Challeng.

A Duel prevented.

how much I was before hand with his Brother, and propos'd as an expedient, that I ſhould declare I was ſorry for it, which I deſir'd to be excuſed in; at laſt he offered that if I would ſay I was ſorry for what I had done, he ſhould ſay he was ſorry for giving the occaſion; which was acknowledged on both ſides, and ſo we were made Friends.

13th Sigh. —— *Lord how various are thy diſpenſations, thy wayes are paſt finding out; thou haſt turned our Sorrow into Joy, that part of the Wheel which was lowermoſt, is now got uppermoſt; thou haſt turn'd my Sword into a Plough Share, and my publique dangers and wants, into private Peace and Plenty; and inſtead of the cold Mother Earth, and Canopy of Heaven, thou haſt prepared a warm and pleaſant Bed, Lord grant me Grace ſuitable to thy Mercies.*

From *Oxford*, the firſt night I came to *Uxbridge*, where I thought fit to acquaint the Governour of the Town with my Condition, leaſt I ſhould be taken as a Spie; but notwithſtanding my Paſs (to ſhew his Officiouſneſs to the Parliament) he carried me Priſoner to *London*, where I was forced to make Friends to the Speaker to be releaſed: Soon after, I attended my Compoſition at *Goldſmiths-Hall*, where (though I was a Priſoner to the Parliament) yet my Creditor arreſted me upon an Execution, and carried me away to the *Poultry Compter*, and then ſequeſtred my whole Eſtate; which if he had done before, might have paid him half his Debt. There I ſtaid about a Year without ſeeing a Yard of growing Graſs; ſtriving to be releaſt upon the Priviledge of Parliament, being their Priſoner; and therefore could not in Honour be a private perſons Priſoner; but that failing me, I removed to the *Kings Bench*, where (the Lady *Lenthall* being my Kinſwoman) I had convenient liberty: Whilſt I was in Priſon, my Wife agitated my Compoſition, rais'd mony and paid it, and I wanted not

The cruelty of thoſe times.

A good wife.

not; moreover I put her upon the taking off 300 *l. per ann.* ſettled upon her, after Marriage, in exchange of Lands between us (though ſhe had no mind to attempt it) and ſhe clear'd that from Compoſition; which ſeveral Ladies urg'd as a preſident, but was not granted to any: She was then contented to releaſe theſe Lands for the Payment of Debts; She having her own again, which if they had been Sold at a full Value, would have paid all.

In the mean time, I was not wanting in retaliating kindneſſes; for by my diligent ſoliciting for her, and laying out a good part of the Mony I received in ſale of my own Eſtate: I got the greateſt part of her Eſtate out of her Uncles hands, into the hands of Friends fitter to be truſted; and paid Debts and Legacies charg'd upon her Eſtate with the reſt; and then conveyed her whole Eſtate in *Middleſex* and *Berkſhire* (whereof a conſiderable part was Leaſe Lands and ſo mine) To Truſtees of her own chooſing, acknowledging all valuable conſiderations, and uſing all barring words that council learned could invent, to avoid fraud; not in ſatisfaction of what I owed, but rather in the confidence I had in her, that what ſhe enjoyed, I ſhould never want; but beſides my confidence of her love, that which induc'd me to it was, that no man of my condition could call any thing his own; for there followed Decimation, Impriſonment, and what not; and who was more fit to be truſted than ſuch a Wife, who ſeem'd to be altogether compos'd of Kindneſs, and of whom I had not then any cauſe of Suſpicion; yet I obſerv'd that ſhe was very ſtrict and over curious in the Penning of her Conveyances, thinking that ſhe had never enough, and ever ſuſpitious of her beſt Friends, adhering rather to thoſe that had a deſign upon her, and did admire her Wit and Parts, than thoſe that told her the plain truth, and wiſh'd her happineſs really.

A good Huſband.

A great Temptation

Whilſt I was in the *Kings Bench*, my Chief Creditor, who Arreſted me in Execution, lead me out of the Rules, to treat of the Debt between us; which the Deputy Marſhal perceiving, ſaid, he was glad to ſee us agreed; my Creditor anſwered, we were not yet agreed; ſaid the Marſhal, you muſt agree now, for this is an eſcape in Law, and he may choſe whether he will go back to Priſon again; which amaz'd my Creditor: But I told him, 'twas not for my Honour to revenge my ſelf upon him, and uſe him as he had us'd me; I would only take the advantage by this, to make him honeſt, and to abate the extraordinary Charges he demanded; but his Principle and Intereſt he ſhould have to a farthing: Which I paid him within one Week, and all my own Debts; there were alſo ſeveral Debts I was engaged for with my Uncle *Sandys*, entred againſt me; which the Creditors (out of the confidence they had of my Juſtice) withdrew, and took my Word for their Payment; and I Paid them all, within one Years time.

Being now in ſome meaſure free from Debts, my Wife and I retired into the Country; where we found the common Fate of a ſequeſtred Eſtate; not onely a ruin'd Houſe, but Gardens and Orchards plough'd to the very Doors: Yet with all its faults, we liked it better than any place we had in the Country; being alſo encouraged by the kindneſs of my Neigbour-hood to live there (though it were a Leaſe holden of the Dean and Chapter of *Glouceſter*) Too ſoon after Church Lands were expoſed to Sale by the then uſurped power, calling themſelves a Parliament; and upon conſideration of all things, *viz.* that if we did not Buy it a Souldier might; who would immediately Cut down the Timber, with which it was well ſtor'd, and force me out of the term I had in it already (which was Eleven or Twelve Years to come) beſides, I thought it a point of Conſcience, to preſerve the Church Lands to my Power; and it was the principal ſeat of my Name and Family for above

above a Hundred Years: Upon theſe thoughts, my Wife and I Sold Lands, and joyned to buy the reverſion after the Leaſe in Truſtees names; and I was ſo kind to her, as to make it over in Joynture, in caſe ſhe out-lived me; which in Common Barter, was at leaſt three times worth the Mony. *Mutual kindneſs.*

During the Kings abſence, I cannot ſay I liv'd, but breath'd only; being altogether a Patient, and not an Agent: Yet even then there were ſome rematkable paſſages, of which I will name but one.

Upon review of Sequeſtrations, I was Summon'd to *Hickes's-Hall*, to compound for my Wives Eſtate in *Middleſex*, in anſwer to which, I pleaded a Leaſe of 21 Years, made by my Wives Father, *Anno*, 1620. for Payment of Debts and Legacies, which were not then paid, and the Leaſe ſtill in force, to which, when they could make no reaſonable objection; ſaid *Barkſted* (then Leiutenant of the Tower) Sir, *do not you live with your Wife*, to which I anſwered, *Yes Sir that I do, and I hope I may without offence*; Said he, *that's cauſe enough for Sequeſtration*, to which I reply'd, *I hope this Honourable Committee doth not ſit here to part man and Wife*; ſayes another of the Committee, *What Sir do you accuſe us for parting Man and Wife*; to whom I replyed, *I ſay I hope you do not*; with that, I was bid to withdraw, and they paſt no Judgment upon it that day; and afterwards I applyed my ſelf to the Chair-man, who freed it from Sequeſtration; I was ſo plac'd by fortune, that I could not move without diſcovery; ſo that I had not power to do more, than to adviſe my Friends and Relations to obey the King and His Laws, and to make Mr. *Henry Norwood* Executor of all my Arms, who us'd them better than I could have done my ſelf. *A paſſage at a Committee.*

Not long after, it pleas'd God to reſtore the King and the Church again, before the Leaſe formerly mentioned was quite expired; by which means, my Wife and I loſt our

purchaſe Mony, and the repairing of the Houſe, and improving of the Grounds coſt at leaſt 1500 *l.* to make it a Seat: Which when I apply'd my ſelf to the Dean and Chapter to renew; I found the Chapter generally my Friends, and two of them being authorized to treat with me concerning it, offered to leave the Fine to my ſelf, ſo I would increaſe the rent 10 *l. per ann.* more, which offer (though it were very obliging) yet (I deſired to conſider of it, (the increaſe of Rent being new to me) whereupon the Dean took the matter into his own hands, and then I found a great alteration; for whereas the Gentlemen that treated with me before, would in kindneſs come to me, or meet me: I could hardly ſpeak with the Dean, having (as I was inform'd) a deſign to have it himſelf, which troubled me very much; but my old Friend Doctor *Laburne* coming to viſit me, found me diſcompos'd, and ask'd me the reaſon of it; which being as I conceiv'd, to the Scandal of our Church, I told him, 'twas out of his Road to help me; which made him the more importunate, ſaying, I knew not his Power: At laſt I told him that I was oppos'd in the renewing of a Leaſe I had, holden of the Dean and Chapter of *Glouceſter*; he ſaid, he had ſeen the Dean beyond Sea at Queen Mothers Court, and made no queſtion, but to make him my Friend; and went immediately to the Counteſs of *Guilford*, and ſhe had a Command from the ſaid Queen to ſweeten him; who did it ſo effectually, that whereas, he would not renew it upon any terms before, he then agreed upon a reaſonable Fine; and was ſo wholy for me, that if I did not take it in mine own name, and to mine own uſe, (Excluſive to my Wife, and all others) there ſhould be a bigger Fine ſet upon it, I did accordingly pay the Fine, was continued Tenant, had my Leaſe, and he ſtaid his ſtomach upon another Mannor.

The Pretends worthy Perſons.

A true Friend.

After the Kings bleſſed reſtauration, I began to be an Agent again, and fell into ſeveral great and chargeable Suites

viz.

viz. againſt the Company of *Stationers*, to Vindicate the Kings Legal Right in Printing the Common Law, againſt Sir *Robert Vyner* and ſeveral others; of which ſhould I give an account, this would be rather a Volume than a Treatiſe. The taking out of the Depoſitions of one Suit only, amounting to almoſt 20 *l.* Yet this I can moſt truly ſay, I never began a Suit, but upon neceſſity; and asking at *Abel* firſt: And though I prevail'd in them, yet they coſt me ſo much Time and Mony, that I may well ſay as that General did; who after a great Victory, upon the veiw of his Army, found it was obtain'd by the loſs of ſo many Gallant men, that he ſaid with Sorrow to his Officers that remain'd; *Many ſuch ſucceſſes will undo us.* So theſe freſh expences, together with paying a Fine for what I had bought before; being put into Honourable, though Chargeable imployments, as Deputy Leiutenant, Juſtice of the Peace, an Officer of the Militia, and living in a more plentiful manner than before, to entertain my Friends, and having no help at all; I became in Debt again, and borrowed 1500 *l.* upon the ſaid Colledge Leaſe; with which I paid ſome of my Wives Debts, as well as mine own, alwaies believing I ſhould never ſee the day wherein our Perſons, or Eſtates ſhould be two.

—— *Lord thou haſt made mine Enemies rejoyce over me,* 14th Sept. *and laugh me to ſcorn! thou haſt ſet me faſt in Priſon, yet thou haſt not given me over, but haſt ſweetned it with the Kindneſs of my neereſt Relations, that with* Paul *and* Silas, *I have enjoyed many pleaſant hours there; thou haſt put mine Adverſarie into mine Hands, and Bleſſed be thy Name that thou haſt reſtrained me from requiting Evil for Evil; and though I have not arriv'd to that height of Piety as to Love my Enemies, yet 'tis a great comfort to me, that I have made ſo good a beginning as to be juſt to them, as well as kind to my Friends.*

Here-

Here I muſt crave pardon of the Reader to fall from a general diſcourſe of my Life, to a particular vindication of my ſelf, wherein I am falſely accus'd; which indeed is the cauſe of this Treatiſe, and though I tremble to do it, yet I chooſe it as the leaſt of two Evils, being not able to undeceive the World by any other means.

After my Wife had found the ſweetneſs of enjoying a quieted Eſtate, ſhe began by degrees to decline my advice, and keep all things private from me, and giving ear to Adulators; ſhe was miſerably couſened, and bought all things at the worſt hand, and run in Debt to moſt Tradesmen that would truſt her; which when I perceived, and was dun'd for the Mony, I prevail'd with her to ſhew me her accounts; upon peruſall of which, I found many Errors, *viz.* no perfect Rental whereby to charge the Receiver, the Accompts falſe caſt up, and ſeveral conſiderable Sums doubly charg'd: But when I told her of it, and deſired theſe Accompts might be evened, before ſhe truſted him any further; the reſult was, that I ſhould never pry into her Accompts more, for there being ſome private Reckonings between them, he had the power to make her ſet her hand to any thing, which ſhe hath dearly paid for ſince; and though ſhe exclaimed againſt him, that he had let Leaſes to the Tenants of more Ground, and for a longer Term than was agreed, yet ſhe ever Seal'd the Leaſes, and moſt commonly without Counter-parts. By this ill management of Affairs, ſeveral Debts were contracted and my Perſon liable to them all; this I was very ſenſible of, but how to remedy it I knew not; for the ſtaff being now in her hands, and out of mine, ſhe might as well beat me as aſſiſt me with it.

The ill conſequence of Debts.

The danger of Truſting.

Yet being provok'd by a Conjugal duty, I took the boldneſs to tell her, we grew more and more in Debt every Year, which would be deſtructive at laſt; that the beſt way would be to Sell and pay them off, and live as Comfortably

tably as we could upon the remainder, or to let the Houſe, (the keeping of which, much increaſt our Debts) and live privately for a time: Neither of which ſhe liked, but the latter ſhe could never forgive, to grudge her a Houſe to Live in (as ſhe often repeated) and this was the firſt real difference I can remember between us; as if Perſons indebted by keeping one Houſe, could pay their Debts by keeping two: this was bandyed about every where, and gave an occaſion to rip up all my other Faults, complaining that I never lov'd her; and as an argument urg'd, that I left her company, and went into the Kings Army; which to the Zealous Ladies, who like Tinder, take Fire upon the leaſt occaſion; and would have none go that way, was fault enough, without any other to be condemned, forgetting as (Zealous as they were) *Uriahs Anſwer to King David*, when he would have had him gone to his Houſe, *&c. The Ark and* Iſrael *and* Judah *abide in Tents, and my Lord* Joab, *and the Servants of my Lord are incamped in the open Fields; Shall I then go into mine Houſe, to Eat and Drink, and lye with my Wife*, &c. *I will not do this thing*, ſaid he: ſo may I anſwer, ſhall the King, the Nobility and Gentry, and all be concern'd for their Lives, and I be in a Voluptuous Bed my ſelf! certainly 'twas not to be done by a good Subject: And this I urge the more home, in regard her fondneſs was for above 20 Years together, as great as her hatred can be now, for I could not be out of her ſight (though about her own buſineſs) without ſtrick't Examination; ſometimes ſmelling my breath, whether I had drank Wine, and my hair, whether I had taken Tobacco; and though I never could abide Tobacco in my life, yet if ſhe had ſmelt it in my hair, by being where it was taken, the World could not perſwade her to the contrary, but that I had taken it my ſelf.

Plain dealing out of faſhion.

2 Sam. Chap. 11.

Extreams never laſt.

And here I cannot forbear to tell you a paſſage. About Twelve Years ſiuce, a Noble Perſon and his Lady Din'd with

with us; after Dinner, he whiſpered me in the Ear, which my Wife perceiving, acquainted his Lady, that there was ſomething extraordinary to be done; ſo both the Ladies came to kiſs the ſecret out of us, and when 'twas diſcovered, 'twas no more than this; that there was a Muſick meeting at Maſter *Lawes* his Chamber that Afternoon, and if they pleas'd to go we ſhould be glad of their Company; which they (otherwiſe engag'd) refus'd to do: As we went, ſayes this Perſon to me, let us endure theſe impertinencies in our Wives; for when women begin to be indifferent, they begin to hate: Which ſaying hath prov'd moſt prophetical to me; for ſhe having the ſole power of an Eſtate, and being the only Child of her Father, and ſo fonded by him, that none muſt diſpleaſe her; whereby ſhe had her will in all things, and being in her nature paſſionate and high, which by her Education, was much increas'd; this Settlement could not pleaſe her, but ſhe muſt needs have all that remained alſo, to render me worſe than her Ward, for though a Ward hath nothing, yet he owes nothing, and is maintained by his Guardian; but I was clog'd with mine own and her Debts which lay hard upon me, yet muſt not have wherewith to pay them, but like the *Iſraelites*, make Brick without Straw.

Fondneſs an Error.

Here I muſt take leave to obſerve, that the great reaſon why the Law favours Marryed Women ſo much is, becauſe 'tis preſum'd the Husband is poſſeſt of the whole Eſtate, both real and perſonal; and therefore whatſoever Debts the Wife contracts, though never ſo ill, chargeth the Husbands perſon and Eſtate; which makes my caſe worſe than ordinary: For though my Wife be (by my indulgence) as a Husband, in reſpect of the Eſtate, yet is ſhe as a Wife, in reſpect of the Debts ſhe owes; having the benefit of the Eſtate, and not anſwerable for the Debts by Law; which not onely contradicts reaſon, but the very Creation it ſelf: *For Man was created in Gods Image, to*

be

be ruler of the whole Earth, and woman was afterwards created to be a help meet for man: So man was made for Gods ſake, and woman for mans ſake. But did ſhe perform accordingly? Was ſhe a meet help? I doubt upon examination, you will not find her ſo; for, *the very firſt Act ſhe did, was to give her Husband the forbidden Fruit, whereby he became naked.* And this was my fault, for I did all things my Wife deſired me, till I diveſted my ſelf of that power the Law gave me, and became naked: Though to effect this, ſhe us'd Arguments as plauſible as *Abſolom did when he kiſt the men at the Kings Gate, what Juſtice he would do when the power was in him.* But unnatural power is moſt commonly deſtructive to the receiver as well as the giver; 'tis only happy when both make but one power, ſince thoſe that contend for it moſt, deſerve it leaſt: Yet to pleaſe her, I forſook my reaſon and yeilded, that if ſhe would aſſure me both our Debts ſhould be paid, I would make over all to her; which when ſhe did not approve of upon thoſe terms, nor give me any ſatisfaction why ſhe did not, but expected I ſhould have an implicite faith in her, which ſhe allows not to the Church; I concluded ſhe reſolv'd to blaſt my good name, and make me a perpetual Priſoner, which indeed was the deſigne; for fond love being now turn'd into deadly hatred, ſhe ſpent her whole time in getting a party privately, and alienating my Friends and Allyes from me upon untrue pretences, perſwading my neereſt Kindred and Relations, to joyn with her and deſert me; but they having more diſcretion and integrity, then to joyn in ſo unjuſt a Cauſe, rather adviſed her to a Compoſure; and though ſhe took their Councel in other things, yet ſhe forſook them in this, and went to another Counceller of Law, wholly unconcern'd, who alſo advis'd her to a Complyance; had ſhe read the words of Matrimony, and weighed her promiſes thereupon, ſhe could not need farther advice.

Gen. Chap. 1. 2. 3.

2 Sam. Chap. 15.

But when ſhe found honeſt Lawyers, not for her turn,

ſhe called in Rumpers to adviſe with, and her flatterers (who had been Pentioners to her for ſeveral Years) of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the Chief of which, was her firſt Husbands ſuppoſed Neece, who heretofore was forbid by ſeveral Letters from her ſelf, to come out of *Scotland* to her, but her love (otherwiſe call'd her wants) neceſſitated her to thruſt her ſelf upon her; who being a Lady of Fortune, and well furniſh'd with *Scottiſh* Magick, ſhe was Captain of this black Guard, who deſign'd to build their Houſes out of our ruins; but theſe were only preparatory for her intended ſepaation, being only Women of as little Credit, as Eſtate; whoſe buſineſs it was to pry into my Actions, and to tell my Wife what they obſerv'd to my prejudice, which they found very pleaſing to her: If I did Sweat going about my buſineſs, all the Houſe muſt ring of it; as if it were a Miracle for a fat man to Sweat; if ſhe were inform'd I was in company of any woman (though untrue) 'twas ſo great a fault as not to be forgiven. Theſe, with matters of a higher nature, were underhand infus'd into the Neighbours, and Tenants, to render me odious to them; as that I had ſpent her Eſtate, when indeed I got and preſerv'd it with the loſs of my own; and ſhe ſtill lives plentifully in the mid'ſt of it, without any contradiction, and is poſſeſt of all, but what was ſold for Payment of her Fathers Debts and Legacies: That I had ſome ſtrange and ſecret wayes of ſpending my Mony; whereas in truth, I ſpent moſt of what I had in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; cheifly for the defence of her Eſtate, which was alwaies litigious, or in the Houſe we liv'd in. But fears and jealouſies (which were the cauſes of the late Wars) were alſo the cauſes of my misfortune; for this *Scottiſh* Lady, finding my Wives love in the Wane, and her inclination to take all advantages againſt me; made it her buſineſs to engage all the Servants in the Houſe of her ſide, Rooting all out that would not take part with her, except my own menial Servant; who had a weary life, becauſe he would

Reproaches.

More Reproaches.

would not betray me: Notwithſtanding which my Wife by fits would return to her Kindneſs, and (to give her her due) did many times aſſiſt me with Mony at a pinch; at which the *Scottiſh* Lady (*Judas* like, keeping the Purſe) was much offended, ſaying ſometimes, that if my Wife were rul'd by me, ſhe would be utterly undone; and at other times, when I was in the Country, that ſhe hoped never to ſee me there more, for my Wife was never well when I was with her: Theſe things, when my Wife was acquainted with, ſhe ſeem'd not to believe, nor redreſs; and then, and not till then, I found I was ſupplanted.

Judas had an excuſe.

—— *Lord ſtand up in thy wrath, and lift up thy ſelf becauſe of the Indignation of mine Enemies! turn thee unto me and have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and in miſery; O bring thou me out of my troubles! conſider mine Enemies how many they are, and they bare a Tyranous hate againſt me; but let them be aſhamed and confounded together that ſeek after my Soul to deſtroy it; let them be driven backward and put to rebuke that wiſh me Evil: For the Lord is my refuge, and my God is the ſtrength of my Confidence; he ſhall recompence them their wickedneſs, and deſtroy them in their own malice; yea, the Lord our God ſhall deſtroy them.*

15th Sigh.

By this time her uſing of means to be ſeparated from me began to be no ſecret, for ſhe did not onely uſe the Inſtruments aforeſaid in buzzing into the Neighbours and Tenants ears, how unkind and unjuſt I was to her privately, but profeſt it openly at Table, to make me cheap with my Friends and Servants; inſomuch as I have ſeveral times with ſilence riſen from the Table before I had half Din'd, and inſinuated it, into Perſons of the beſt Quality; and that it might the better take with them, ſhe declar'd how ill a Husband I had been of my own Eſtate, and hers; how vaſtly I was ſtill in Debt, and how neceſſary 'twas now to look to her ſelf, to preſerve a livelyhood for both (pretending ſtill ſome kindneſs to me) and that ſhe did it for my ſake, to make a party

That Evil attend hatred.

out of my own Kindred againſt me) and that ſhe had already ſold much of her Eſtate to pay my Debts; Whereas all the Eſtate ſhe ever ſold in relation to me (for the reſt was in ſatisfaction of Debts and Legacies given by her Father) was ſome Land at *Farringdon*, for 1250 *l.* of which about half was by her own deſire made uſe of, with ſome more of mine, to buy the Reverſion of the Leaſe aforeſaid, and we both loſt our Mony, which was a general caſe.

But ſhe not contented with any loſs wherein I was concern'd, would have had the Leaſe renewed in other mens names; which to pleaſe her, I propos'd to the Dean; his anſwer was, that if I took it in other mens names, he would put another price upon it, in regard the Chapter took ſo ſmall a Fine of me for having ſuffered ſo much for the King and Church. So I took it in mine own name, but ſhe, ſeldom ſatisfied with any reaſon, but where her will is predominate, never left off, till ſhe oblig'd the Dean to promiſe, that upon the next renewing, it ſhould be to Friends in Truſt for her; and made uſe of that unlucky perſon (who hath been ſo fatal to me, and all his own Name and Family, by being engaged for his Debts) as a proper Inſtrument to effect her deſign.

One Evil begets another.

When I deſired to treat with the Dean upon a ſecond renewing, he refus'd to treat with me, but referred me to this man, who agreed with the Dean for 250 *l.* on my behalfe, which was afterwards made a Chapter Agreement, as he confeſſed by his anſwer in the Exchequer; (whether I was forced to fly for repair;) for though I gave notice that my Mony was ready, yet the Dean ſhuffled it off, and declar'd that unleſs 'twas renew'd to Truſtees for my Wife, it ſhould never be renew'd: So that this is the *Engliſh* of it, I muſt pay the Fine for the Eſtate, and ſhe, or ſome others, muſt have the benefit of it, or it muſt not be renew'd at all. But this was not poſſible to be done, in regard my neceſſities compelled me to take up Monies upon it, without the payment of which, I had not power to do it; yet this I offer'd, that if

ſhe

ſhe would pay my Debts, I would truſt her with it; but nothing would ſatisfie her, but defrauding my Creditors, and leaving my Perſon in danger; this being all I could properly call my own to pay my Debts with, and give me a ſubſiſtance. *Some women never ſatisfied.*

My refuſing to do this in her own way, was ſo great a fault and ſo ill taken, that it put her in King *Ahab*'s Diſtemper, and I had no manner of quiet for Six Months together, at Bed, or Board: Sometimes complayning to my neareſt Kindred of me, and if they would not take part with her, ſhe would diſcountenance their Viſits; othertimes keeping me waking whole nights, thinking by her importunity, to make me the unjuſt Judge; when at the ſame time ſhe pretended Sickneſs, as ſhe did more or leſs for the whole Winter together (though ſhe were as well as in any Winter I can remember) and neglected her own buſineſs wholly, to compaſs this deſign, and nothing I did or ſaid could pleaſe her.

She was alſo very much pleas'd at my misfortunes, and when I complain'd to her of two ſad hearings I had in Chancery that Morning, I never ſaw her merrier, than at that Dinner; and when I was Arreſted for her Debt, (which indeed I knew not of) ſhe ſeem'd more troubled that I was got off, than that I was Arreſted, though at the ſame time ſhe was very paſſionately concern'd for a Chare-woman ſhe kept in the Houſe, who, for forſwearing her ſelf, was Arreſted and carried away, when I had the Gout in extremity upon me, and was very angry with me that I would not be ſo too; the reſt I am aſhamed to declare. When I importuned her to entertain a Kinſman of mine, whoſe civility might juſtly expect a treat for himſelf and his Friends; I onely deſir'd the uſe of my own Plate for that day, aſſuring her ſhe ſhould have it again, and that ſhe ſhould be at no charge; I could not for my life obtain it of her; nor was this all, for in further purſuance of her deſign, ſhe broke a Door into the Neighbouring Houſe; and whereas a Kinſman of mine and my *Revenge is Sweet.*

Ser-

Servant lay in that Chamber before, they were removed from thence, and her ſweet Neece (as ſhe calls her) lodg'd in their Room, to hold correſpondence with them, and withdraw their kindneſs from me; and as I ſuppoſe, to remove Goods thither, as there ſhould be occaſion. And till this time, I thought the Inhabitants of this Houſe the moſt impartial well meaning people to us both that could be, and there was no perſon that profeſt more friendſhip to any man than the Maſter of the Houſe did to me; which caus'd me to make him the very Cabinet of my Secrets; and becauſe I had once thoſe apprehenſions, I ſhall leave out much of what I can ſay for my advantage, till there be a more clear diſcovery of the truth as touching him, or a publick denial of the truths herein aſſerted; for which I ſhall reſerve a reply, if any ſuch ſhall happen. However this Door, which I hoped had been made for both our accommodations, to give us the more eaſie acceſs to each other, prov'd very fatal to me; for I could not come to this Gentleman, (for whom I had a very great kindneſs) to communicate my Secrets and deſire his advice therein, but there would be preſent intelligence given to this Neece, or my Wife, where I was; that when I came thither as to a Friend, to disburthen my ſelf of ſorrow, and to receive his comfort, (having little at home) I was moſt commonly prevented.

Back doors unhappy.

And becauſe to prove the truth of things, it may be required to inſtance, ſome Examples; this Dean having had ſome diſcourſe with my Wife, was (upon intelligence as aforeſaid) ſent after Nine of the Clock in a Winter Night, through a Sick Childs Chamber, of which Sickneſs ſhe dyed, the only Child of her Parents; and conducted by my Wives Maid, who March'd with a Candle before him to the place where this Gentleman and I were together, refreſhing our ſelves: We wondred to ſee the Dean there, at that time of Night, and to be brought through a private paſſage, that none but our ſelves ſhould know, and never there before, nor

nor knew he the Maſter of the Houſe; but in ſhort, he fell upon the buſineſs, with deſign, to make me promiſe to renew the ſaid Leaſe to Truſtees for her; which when he could not accompliſh, I aſk'd him whether I had ever promis'd him ſo to do, he anſwer'd I had not; and till this time my Wife reported to the Gentleman of this Houſe, and ſeveral others, that I had ſo promiſed.

Not long after, the Dean came to Town again, and I deſir'd to ſpeak with him at his Lodging, but he alwaies put me off ſaying, he would come to me; and when he came to my Houſe, (though he knew I was within) he would never ſpeak with me, till he ſpake with my Wife firſt; and once he had the confidence to invite me up to my Wives Chamber in a Morning, by this Maid who conducted him to the Neighbouring Houſe, (I not hearing that he was in the Houſe before) which much amaz'd me; knowing how cenſorious my Wife had ever been of thoſe that entertained men in their Chamber. *Great confidence.*

Yet ſome are of opinion, that God ſees no Error, in his Saints; and the Authority of my Lady *Aſheſon* may make that a Virtue, which in another ſhall be judg'd to be Vitious: But if perſons ſhould put a reputation upon things, why ſhould not the Zealous Lady *Norton* be Cannoniz'd for frequenting of Sermons, and claping her Hands upon every defeat given to the King: Beſides ſo grave a man as the Dean to viſit her, muſt challenge as much priviledge as if a Nun had her Confeſſor come to her. When I came up to him, he fell upon the old Theam, how juſt and fit it was to renew this Leaſe to Friends in Truſt for my Wife (though I told him of the Debt upon it) and ſtroak'd his grey Beard in confirmation of the Conſciencioufneſs of it; but for all his gravity, and the power he had upon me, I refus'd his propoſition; at which he was very angry, and flew away in a great Paſſion: Afterwards my Creditor offer'd him the mony agreed between us, and Intereſt from the time it ſhould have been *A deſign fruſtrated.*

been paid; which he was ſo far from accepting of, that he treated with him to accept of the Money and Intereſt that was due to him of a Friend of his, and nam'd the perſon for his Friend, that to my knowledge (his Debts paid) is 20000 *l.* worſe than nothing; which when my Creditor acquainted me with (apprehending that if he would take his mony, a Leaſe might be renewed againſt me) I thought it high time to make my applications to the Prebends, to acquaint them with the Deſign I ſuppoſed againſt me, and addreſt my ſelf to them, by the Biſhop of that Dioceſs; who was ſo Noble, as to cauſe them to declare their Innocence and Integrity in the buſineſs, and their willingneſs to let me have it at the Fine agreed upon; But the Dean ſtill perſiſted in his recuſancy, and took himſelf to be Chancellor of Equity, as well as Dean of *Glouceſter.*

16th Sig. —— *Plead thou my cauſe, O Lord, with them that ſtrive with me! and fight thou againſt them that fight againſt me; let them be confounded and put to ſhame that ſeek after my Soul; let them be turned back and brought to confuſion, that imagine miſchief for me; for they have privily laid their net to deſtroy me without a Cauſe; yea, even without a cauſe have they made a Pit for my Soul; my Lovers and my Neighbours ſtand looking upon my trouble, and my Kinſmen a far off: They alſo that reward Evil for Good are againſt me; but 'tis not an open Enemy hath done me this miſchief, for then I could have borne it, nor a known adverſary, for then I could have avoided him; but it was even thou, the Wife of my Boſome: We took ſweet Council together for many Years, and walked in the Houſe of God as Friends; but as for me, I will call upon God, and implore his aid to deliver me out of this miſery.*

But theſe contrivances were ſtill only preparatory, for the Devil having begun ſo proſperouſly, as to ſeparate ſo near relations, would be ſure to ſtrike home at laſt; knowing that *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, and therefore adviſeth a privy Coun-

The Devil fitteſt to Sow Tares.

Council to carry on the Work ſo happily begun, leaſt malice ſhould fail of its end: She therefore reſolves upon perſons for her Council that have two marks upon them, the one to hate me, the other to love themſelves; I mean advantage, which ſhe is very apt to promiſe upon the leaſt deſign: The firſt ſhe pitches upon, was one old in injuries to me; the ſecond, one whoſe Mouth watred at a Mannor of mine; the Third, one that came from far to govern her, and her Eſtate: Of all which, I ſhall give you a ſhort Character, and begin with Sir *John Denham* his deſcription of the firſt *viz.*

Characters of the Devil's privy Council

The First.

He ſhuffles with his Legs, and rids no Ground; he ſputters with his Tongue, and utters no ſence; he ſpeaks all Languages at once, as if he had been at the Confuſion of *Babell*; he thruſts himſelf into every ones concern, and alwaies gives Council before he be ask'd: A Collonel (ſo call'd) that never drew Sword in Anger; a Stateſman that never Writ true *Engliſh*; a man that whiſpers nothing in every mans Ear, and would be the true *Sir Poſitive at all*, if he were Knighted: This is Chief Secretary of the Council.

The Second.

A Church-man, that ſuffers none to ſurfeit in his Houſe; he is himſelf of the *Spaniſh* Diet (I hope not of their Faith) one Fig, and two Almonds will ſatisfie him at home, but abroad his Stomach is ſo extenſive, that he can ſwallow a whole Mannor at a Bit; he is much addicted to the Scurvy, and can Eat and Drink a Dozen of Oranges at a Meal, in a Phyſical way; he will rather break his Tenants backs, than their Bellies; and is ſo conſciencious, that he will rather Prey upon them, then Pray for them: Towards Twelve of the Clock he is as humble, and nimble with all, as a mendicant Frier; but when he is in *Cathedra* as Majeſtical as the *Pope himſelf*: He is good at moſt things but Preaching, and better at ſeparating than joyning together, though his Function teach otherwiſe; he is the Champion of Ladies, as far as fits his own turn, and practiſes the 3 Chapter of the 2 Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* to the life: To conclude, Ten ſuch

110.

Church-men in *England* would endanger a Second Rebellion (bleſſed be God, I know but this one.) With theſe perfections he ſtands to be preſident of the Council, but the Ladies will not permit him, unleſs he Cuts off his long Beard.

The Third. A thing long, lean, and without a Beard, in habit much like a woman; but whether Man, Woman, or Hermaphrodite; Wife, Widdow, or Maid, I know not; ſhe is all of a peece, and not at all like the Kings Daughter, *Glorious within*; ſhe cannot pronounce *Shibboleth* plain; yet for all the Church-mans Learning, this is thought moſt fit to be preſident of a Ladies Council, moſt of them being alſo Women: For the reſt of her deſcription, I leave you to Sir *William Davenants* Song of *So Old, So wondrous Old*: And if that ſhould fail, to Maſter *Randolph's* Verſes upon ſuch another Beauty.

Lower than Gamut ſunk her Eyes,
'Bove Ela though her Noſe did riſe.

As for her Virtues, they are ſo Eminent, that they bear proportion with her Beauty.

But though theſe contend to be Preſident, yet really none of them are fit for the place; for in Councels wherein the deſign is to ſeparate Man and Wife, there is none ſo proper to be Preſident as the Prince of Darkneſs, who certainly may claim the moſt undoubted right; the reſt of the Council being women ſeduced through miſ-information, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with, hoping they will not trouble themſelves any further, when they know the truth of the Cauſe: All theſe conjoyn'd together againſt a ſingle Perſon, obſcur'd with great Debts (who made no preparation to defend himſelf, relying on his own Innocence) together with an Eſtate Real and Perſonal to back them; might (without the leaſt Difficulty, as well as Honour) promiſe themſelves ſucceſs, and be as confident as *Thomas Aquinas* was, when he ſaid,

The Devil preſident of wicked Councels.

Jam

Jam contra Manichæos concluſum eſt.

There only wanted now an opportunity to ſet on Foot the Decrees of this Councel, which happened not long after; for a Creditor, who obtained an Execution againſt me, upon a Houſe Debt, which my Wife ought to pay, threatned to arreſt me; which to prevent, I ſent a Gentleman I thought moſt in her favour, to deſire him to forbear ſeizing on my Perſon or Eſtate, for a Month or Six Weeks, and he ſhould not fail of his Mony; his Anſwer was, he would not ſtay at all; and if preſent Mony were not paid, he would take what Courſe he could to get it: I deſired the Gentleman to acquaint my Wife therewith, which he did in my preſence; I took that occaſion, to tell her of the danger, the diſgrace, and the loſs that muſt neceſſarily follow, if this Debt were not paid; and beg'd of her (as if it had been for my life) that ſhe would pay it, and I would allow it; and though ſhe had then in her Cuſtody, above 1000 *l.* worth of Jewels, and Plate, which ſhe ſtill unjuſtly detains, I could not prevail with her to do it, although the Debt were little more than 60 *l.* I thought this very hard, and yet was unwilling to ſeiz my own Goods, to pay it againſt her will; but told her, I would ſecure my Perſon, and ſome Pictures that were like to be undervalued, in caſe they were ſeiz'd upon: For the abſence of my Perſon, ſhe ſeem'd not to trouble her ſelf much, but for the Pictures, ſhe was in ſuch a toſs, that ſhe utter'd ſuch Language, as I never heard from any Lady, and told the Gentleman, in whoſe cuſtody I put them, that he had plundred her Houſe, *&c.* *Good counſel rejected.*

Theſe things made me examine in what ſafety I was in the Houſe, Anſwer was made me, that there had been no Key to the Street Door for two Months, (for indeed, I was as a Stranger in the Houſe for above a Year before) when I conſidered of this, as alſo, that my Wife expreſt little trouble at my laſt Arreſt for her own Debt, and that there was but one

111.

Servant I could truſt; I reſolv'd to take a Lodging, and preſently to remove; which I did in that haſt, that I left all things in diſorder behind me; I often ſent to my Wife, to know how ſhe did, and to bring me things I had occaſion to uſe, but I could not receive them without a note under my hand, and ſometimes not at all; and the Meſſenger complain'd that he was alwaies dog'd from thence, and having but one to look to me, I was depriv'd many times of a Servant: I then prepared for the Country to put my buſineſs in the beſt order I could there, and ſecure thoſe Goods: And as I went to take Coach, I eſcaped Arreſting very narrowly.

In the Country I ſtai'd but a ſhort time, being alarm'd up to Town about a Charitable uſe, alledged to be given by my Wives Father, out of her Eſtate in the *Strand*, for the Payment of which, there was a Decree by the Commiſſioners of Charitable uſes againſt me, for about 400 *l.* for the Arrears, and 10 *l. per ann.* for ever, which would have been alſo a leading caſe to the Payment of a greater Sum, by this as well as being lyable to my Wives Debts, Troubles and Suits, you may perceive I had all the Evils of the Eſtate, though no benefit thereby; and I heard my Wife took no care at all, to prevent the Confirmation of it in Chancery: Whereupon I went with what ſpeed I could to *London* to our Council, to inſtruct and Fee him for the hearing; which after I had done, and was taking my leave of him, he was the firſt that told me of the ſad News, of my Goods being ſeized upon, and that if I would ſtay, he thought I might ſee my Wife; with that I ſtaid, and half an hour after ſhe came; he ſaid to her, that if ſhe would walk into his inward Room, he would ſhew her that he hoped would pleaſe her; when ſhe came in, I Saluted her, and ſhe ſeem'd well enough contented to ſee me: Afterwards he made ſeveral propoſitions between us, whereof one was accepted, and others like to be agreed on; but upon conference with her Sweet Neece, all was contradicted again, and ſhe did never ſince imploy the

the ſaid Councellor, for endeavouring a Reconciliation between us. *Honeſty miſtaken.*

Here I may not omit to tell you that there were ſeveral things reported of me Scandalous and falſe; as that I put this Creditor upon ſeizing the goods of the Houſe (which is as much as to ſay, I contriv'd mine own dishonour and ruine) 'tis more likely to be my Wives contrivance, who hath built her whole deſign upon this Foundation: For after this my Credit was wholly blaſted, that my familiar Friends ſeem'd to ſhun me, the reaſon they gave for it was, becauſe my Study-Doors were not broken open, and that ſome of my wearing Cloaths, (though in another mans Chamber) were preſerv'd: 'Twas alſo reported that my Wife was ſurpriz'd, when ſhe agreed as aforeſaid; whereas I dare ſwear, the Councellor that adviſ'd it, did it from the integrity of his Heart for both our goods; and that he had as much or more kindneſs for her, than he had for me; nor could what was reported be of any advantage to him, or to me if true, but juſt contrary: 'Twas alſo reported, that I did not Viſit her, nor acquaint her with my going out of Town; that I ſold the Coach-Horſes, which I confeſs I did, with her conſent, and ſuch trifles, which I ſhould bluſh to mention, had they not come from her; and that I had left her, and not ſhe me, by way of fallacy, becauſe ſhe lives in the Houſe ſtill; as if her promiſe in Marriage were made to the Houſe, and not to my Perſon. To which I anſwer, that ſhe might have prevented the miſchief that parted us, if ſhe had pleas'd, having warning enough; and that I durſt not ſee her in that houſe, beſeig'd with Bayliffs, for fear of being Arreſted, which had then utterly undon me: I will not ſay ſhe would have betray'd me her ſelf, but I am ſure thoſe about her, which ſhe will not part withal, would. *More Scandals.*

However, when I came into the Country, I gave her an account where I was, but could receive no anſwer of many Letters ſent to her from thence, nor never ſince; though I have writ-

written at leaſt four or five Letters to her ſince I came to *London*; nor did ſhe ever ſee the Servant by whom I ſent them, but by accident: After this I met her at my Uncle Baron *Atkins* his Houſe by chance; who had been alwaies exceeding kind to her in all her diſtreſſes, and was ſo in this; for he invited her to his Houſe, and lodg'd her there for a fortnight at leaſt, he was (as others were) poſſeſt of an ill opinion of me, and that I was a ſtrange Monſter of a Man; but when I had in ſome meaſure undeceived him, he began to be of another mind, and to examine the truth of things; which ſhe perceiving, and that 'twas his opinion we ſhould live together; ſhe ſuddainly remov'd her Lodging, without acquainting him therewith: When we were there together (the good old Gentleman, having made his peace with God, deſirous alſo to make peace in his own Family,) propos'd, that we ſhould ſtay there and lie together, and agree the matters in difference between us, which I conſented to, and ſhe refus'd; he then propos'd, that the matters in difference might be referred to him, aſſuring her, ſhe ſhould be no looſer by it; which ſhe alſo refus'd: He alſo propos'd, that we might talk of buſineſs there; her anſwer was, ſhe came not thither about buſineſs, and ſo ſhe took leave and turn'd away, and went out with the ſame Gentleman ſhe came in with, leaving me there; and lodg'd at his Houſe without my knowledge or conſent: this being matter of Fact, let the World Judge, whether I left her, or ſhe me.

More good Council rejected.

After this, I ſent two Ladies of Quality to propoſe an accommodation to her, and deſired a meeting; at leaſt, that I might know my fault, for which I was ſo ſeverely Puniſhed; from whom I could receive no other anſwer than this, that when they touch'd upon that ſtring, ſhe fell off from that diſcourſe to another; as if the very diſcourſe of re-uniting us, had been infectious; not anſwering ſo well as *Felix* did to St. *Paul*, *When he reaſoned of Righteouſneſs, Temperance and Judgment to come: Go thy way* (ſaid he) *for this time, when*

24 Acts v. 25.

I have a convenient Season I will call for thee. For she would not give them hopes of an Answer; but I trust, he that cast *the Dumb Devil out of the possest*, will in his good time restore her to her Speech even upon this Subject; for whoever is acquainted with my Lady *Acheson*, must needs know that she can speak. Matthew 9. 32. 33.

Then I made my addresses to a Lady of Honour, to whom she made her applications first; who was perswaded by her that I would not let her have a House to live in; that I had got her to Sell great part of her Estate to pay my Debts, and would have her Sell more; that I was vastly in Debt, and would not give her an account how much: That I was a great Swearer, a Drunkard, &c. and made my Case so desperate, that this Lady (though a very prudent person, and my friend) would hardly hear me; but said, the best way would be to turn my self over to the *Kings-Bench*, and Compound my Debts, and let my Wife have what was left to keep her self, and me in Prison. After I had leave to speak, and had in some measure undeceiv'd her, declaring how hard it was to judge upon hearing one side only; She said she had propos'd to my Wife to have the business in difference between us referred to two Lawyers indifferently chosen to determine, and nam'd the persons; to which I readily consented (though the person nam'd for me, was of my Wives Councel as well as mine, th' other wholly a stranger to me) I humbly desired the Lady to put it on, and give me a timely answer; which was, that over Night my Wife agreed to it, but contradicted it next Morning; thinking (as I suppose) that Lawyers could not give her more than she had already: But she said my Wife desired a list of my Debts, which she thought, might bring on a Treaty: In two or three daies, I sent it by this Noble Lady, with two propositions under my hand, to this effect, *viz.* First, That both our Debts, and a particular of both our Estates, may be referred to two Lawyers as aforesaid, with power to pay the said Debts out of the said Estates, and *More Scandals.*

and to ſettle the remainder according to Juſtice and Equity: Otherwaies, Secondly, That I may have what is Lawfully mine, out of which I will pay my Debts, and diſcharge her from them, ſo ſhe will do the ſame to me: Which though ſhe delivered with her own hand, yet had ſhe no better anſwer than this; That if I would ſend to her four, or five Daies after, ſhe would give me an anſwer: So the Lady return'd the Papers, as hopeleſs to do any good; and after ſix Daies, and twice attendance upon her, and another Letter from me; ſhe ſaid, her Counſel adviſed her to give no Anſwer.

27th Sigh —— *Lord, how are they increaſed that trouble me! many are they that riſe up againſt me, and ſay, there is no help for him in his God: Thou haſt put mine acquaintance and Friends far from me, and made me to be abhorred of them; but thou O Lord art my Defender! and canſt lift me up again, for thou wilt ſave the People that are in adverſity, and bring down the high looks of the Proud: And though falſe witneſſes riſe up, and lay to my charge things I know not, and reward me evil for good, to my great diſcomfort; yet let them not, that are mine Enemies, Triumph over me, nor be beleived when they ſpeak Scandalouſly againſt me; but let the miſchief of their own Lips fall upon them.*

Having ſpent the greateſt part of the Summer, in attempting a reconciliation with my Wife, in which I failed; about the middle of *Auguſt* I retir'd into the Country to Baron *Atkins* his Houſe, after many kind, and importunate invitations thither; who us'd me as his own Son in all things but this, that he gave me more outward Civility and Reſpect: He ſeem'd much concern'd for my Wives unkindneſs to me; and though he was troubled with very great pains, and drew near his end (being in the 83 Year of his Age) he ſpake very obligingly to me; and his Lady, Son, and Daughter in Law, were more than ordinary Civil to me; the Ser-

Baron Atkins his kindneſs to me.

vants

vants alſo were ſo well inſtructed, that, though I had a free Command of the Houſe, I need not have ask'd for any thing, it being brought to me before hand; ſo that for the freedome of it, I might have taken it for mine own Houſe, in all other reſpects; ſave that I was us'd with much more kindneſs and reſpect, and fed at a more plentiful Table: For the Baron was never ſo well pleas'd, as when he had the beſt Meat the Country could afford, and his Friends and Neighbours to eat of it, (for he eat little himſelf:) The diſcourſe at his Table, was much after the deſcription of St. *Auguſtines*, but his Meat better than *Auguſtines* for an *Engliſh* Stomach. To come to the matter in hand; the diſcourſe of the Married Ladies was chiefly, whether Love or Duty, obliged them moſt to their Husbands; acknowledging both to be ties upon them: There was publique Prayers conſtantly, four times a day; and ſeldome a Servant miſſing, whoſe buſineſs was not a juſt excuſe; ſo that this was not in Name, but in Deed a Religious Houſe. *The Order of the Houſe.*

After I had been there about ten daies, I ſent my ſervant to *London*; of which I thought fit to give the Baron and his Lady notice, who upon diſcourſe together, agreed to invite my Wife thither, but firſt ask'd whether I approv'd of it, to which I gave my full aſſent; ſo my Lady did me the favour to ſhew me the Letter, which was a very kind invitation, owning that I was there with them; I gave my Servant order to deliver it as ſoon as he came to Town, and into her own hand: His anſwer was, that he was twice at her Lodging, and could not be admitted to ſpeak with her, though he ſent up his meſſage; ſo he was forc'd to ſend up the Letter by her Servant, who ſaid, her Lady had appointed her to receive it; and though I ſtaid there, or there abouts ſix Weeks after, the Lady receiv'd no anſwer at all of her Letter; God grant it was not to avoid good Example, for there were as good Wives as ever I ſaw; but my Wife continued all the Summer in *London*, though ſhe never ſtaid a *His kindneſs to my Wife.*

whole Summer there for 30 Years together, except one, if that? for had my occaſions been never ſo great and urgent, even to my ruine, I had not a quiet day after *May*, till I carried her into the Country; complaining ſhe wanted Air, though ſhe knew, I had not many times wherewithal to do it: but what Love cannot do, Revenge may; and what neither of them can do ſingle, Love and Revenge may do together; I mean her Love to that company ſhe forſook me for, and her Revenge upon me; whom ſhe ſo ſolemnly promis'd before God and man, never to forſake, in theſe words, *viz. For Better for Worſe, for Richer for Poorer, in Sickneſs and in Health, to Love, Cheriſh, and to obey till death us depart, &c.* Now ſeveral Queſtions may ariſe upon theſe words.

4 Queſtions 1. Whether a Husband being reduc'd in his Eſtate, and his Wife giving out that he is a Scandalous liver, without proof, can nullifie this promiſe?

2. If they be prov'd, it can diſſolve this knot, unleſs they both agree to the diſſolution?

3. If this be agreed, whether it may be done, ſince the promiſe is, *Till death us depart?*

4. Who can do it?

The Queſtions anſwered. In anſwering which Queſtions, I ſhall not irreverently look into the Ark, nor meddle with the Prieſts Office, which belongs not to me; but becauſe this is the moſt eſſential point of the whole Treatiſe, and wherein I am moſt concern'd, I ſhall not deliver mine own opinion; but ſhall give the opinion of a Sober Divine, *viz.* To the firſt Queſtion he ſaith.

To the firſt Queſtion. That neither decay of Eſtate, nor ſcandal, nor any other thing without proof can nullify this promiſe, or be any juſt cauſe of Separation; for *De non apparentibus & non exiſtentibus eadem eſt ratio.*

The ſecond he ſaith, hath two parts: Firſt, If it be prov'd it can diſſolve the Knot: Secondly, whether there can be a diſſolution of it unleſs both parties agree. To

To the first he Answers two things; First, That decay of Estate if prov'd, is not sufficient to dissolve the Knot, because the Divine Law allowes of no such cause; and this is expresly provided against in the words of Marriage, *for Richer for Poorer.*

Secondly, Nor is every Scandal sufficient if it were prov'd: *To the se-* The Divine Law allows only of one cause as sufficient, *viz. cond.* *Adultery, Mat.* 5.

To the second part of the Question he sayes, first, If the Adultery be on the Wives part, the Husband may certainly without the Wives consent, dissolve the Marriage by the Divine Law. Secondly, If the Adultery be on the Husbands part, the case is not altogether so clear concerning the Wife, that she may put away her Husband. Among the *Jewes*, it was in no case permitted to the Wife to put away her Husband; and the *Greek* Fathers (as *Grotius* upon *Matt.* 5. tells us.) That Anciently among the *Christians*, it was not allowed to the woman to dissolve the Bond of Marriage, no not for Adultery; But our Saviour seems to allow it on both sides, *Mark* 10, 11, 12. and St. *Paul* 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11.

To the third he saith, that notwithstanding the words of *To the 3d* the promise (*till death us depart*) the Marriage may be dissolved *Question.* for the cause of Adultery, and this though both parties be not agreed: He grants indeed, that neither party is bound to make a divorce, no not in case of Adultery; becaus the Law of Divorce is only permissive: He likewise grants, that the words of Marriage might be so fram'd, as to oblige both parties beyond what the bare nature of Marriage doth: So two Persons when they Marry, may solemnly oblige themselves never to be voluntarily absent for a day from one another, which Marriage doth not tye them to; so likewise they might mutually oblige themselves not to make use of the permission of Divorce in any case, but doth not think that these words (*till death us depart*) are of that force, or that they were so intended: First, because among the *Jewes*, who

had the greateſt liberty of Divorce, the like expreſſions are us'd, as if nothing but death could diſſolve this knot; and yet this did not take away the liberty of Divorce: St. *Paul* tells us, *Rom. 7. 2. That the woman is bound by the Law to her Husband as long as he liveth*, and yet in caſe of Divorce, the woman was free from her Husband even while he was alive: Secondly, Conſtant practiſe among our ſelves, hath ſo interpreted theſe words, as to be no prejudice to Divorce.

To the 4th Queſtion. To the Fourth he ſaith, That by the *Chriſtian* Law either party may do it, but by the Lawes of every particular Nation thoſe Courts and Judges that are appointed by Law, and in *England* it is to be done by Eccleſiaſtical Courts only.

Biſhop Hall his opinion. To add to this the opinion of Biſhop *Hall* (who is generally the Ladies Doctor, and particularly my Wives) in his Caſes of Conſcience upon Divorce, he concludes, that a man cannot put away his Wife for any Cauſe, except Fornication, or Adultery, no not for Unbeleif, or Hereſie; and after ſaies theſe words; Therefore to ſeparate from Board, or Bed, is no better than a preſumptuous violence. It is the peremptory Charge of Chriſt, *what God hath joyned together let no man put aſunder, Matt. 19. 6.* In all lawfull Marriages tis God that joyns the Hands and Hearts of the Married: How dare man then undo the work of God, upon devices of his own? what an impious ſaucineſs is it to disjoyn thoſe whom God hath United.

But neither theſe, nor any other I ever heard of, hold it lawful for a Woman to ſeparate from her Husband without any proof at all, which is my Caſe. If Actions be the true Interpreters of Thoughts, 'tis more than probable ſome Wives think, that if they be actually chaſt in their Bodies, their Husbands are ſo much in their Debt, that they may abuſe them all other waies; wherefore I ſhall the leſs judge ſuch as buy Milk by the Quart, when a Mans own Cow ſhall give a good Soop of Milk, and kick it down when ſhe hath done,

'Tis

'Tis a new faſhion but I hope will never take, for a Wife to Seiſe her Husbands Goods, and then to complain and ſeparate from him, to whine and bite.

The Kings Farriers Caſe.

Yet the new lights of theſe times may make Ladies believe they can ſee further than thoſe of old, becauſe Age is blind, holding forth that the Yoke of Marriage is too heavy for a tender Lady to bear, who is more of Spirit than Fleſh; they have a Salve for every Sore: Sometimes breaking a Heart into three peeces, and then taking five peeces for a word of Conſolation, and ſo according to the occaſion: But a Divorce ought to bear the greateſt price of all, ſince there are ſo few, (if any,) can do it; for what would not one give to enjoy the thing belov'd, and to be rid of the thing deteſted; beſides in reaſon, for a Woman of Eſtate, to endure a Husband of 29 Years ſtanding, is as great a miſery, as for a Father to live till his Heir be 50 Years of Age: 'Tis civil for them both to depart ſooner. Wherefore this may be called the Old Law, which by the entrance of theſe new Lights is abrogated.

New lights

Whilſt ſhe was in *London* ſhe found her ſelf a full and more pleaſant Imployment than taking the Country Ayr, in Writing and ſending to *Glouceſter* to hinder my renewing the Leaſe aforeſaid; but the Chapter were ſo far engag'd to the Mortgagee, that both of us miſt of it; then ſhe made in to two ingenious Lawyers, fit for her turn, who Travel'd into *Ireland* to learn honeſty, with whom I had intruſted ſome writings of an Eſtate not made over to her, and ſhe prevail'd with them to keep both writings and Rent from me, to make all things ſo litigious as that I might not get any thing for a Lively-hood, but be forced to a Complyance with her upon Neceſſity; and ſo ſhe played the Tenants games for them, who were glad of any occaſion to keep their Rents in their hands; that inſtead of receiving any Mony, I was compelled to ſpend Mony in Suits: Upon which one was ſo much encouraged, as to attempt to pay me with ill Words and Blows, though I cannot believe ſhe ſent him; nor can I hear he

he hath brag'd of his payment ſince; and though I have been informed of all hands, that the breach (of I know not what) is paſt reconciliation; yet I ſent my Servant ſince my coming to Town, to ſee her, who (as he informed me) could neither ſee her, nor any of her Servants; as alſo a Gentleman who formerly hath been admitted, but coming from me was rejected: She is ſo angry that her deſigns are fruſtrate, and that *Mordicai* will not bow lower. This ſpiritual pride which transform'd *Lucifer* from an Angel of Light into Darkneſs, hath taught her firſt to deſpiſe, and then to hate, becauſe deſpis'd; nor will I wholly excuſe my ſelf from imperfections, which may give her ſome cauſe of offence, though they have been much heightned by thoſe that get their living by it; 'twould be a great diſappointment to them that faults on both parts ſhould be laid aſide, and we joyn together to deceive the deceivers, which is no deceipt; for if we forgive not each other, how ſhall we both expect forgiveneſs from God: But when ſhe ſees her errour, and returns, I ſhall be ready to do my part and meet her; in the mean time, while ſhe flouriſhes with what is mine, 'twill be natural for me, to keep my ſelf from that which breaks down Stone-walls; and I hope by the Sun-ſhine of Gods Grace, to break through this Cloud in time, not as *Hercules Furens*, but *Chriſtianus Militans*.

The danger of Pride.

The Sum of all.

Not to be further tedious, I ſhall cloſe up all, as *Homer* did his *Iliads* in a Nut-ſhell, and leave it to the Readers judgment: My Education and Actions have been alwaies free and without any ill deſign upon others, I have rather practiz'd upon my ſelf; my nature ſo flexible as to receive the impreſſions of others deſignes upon me, my truſts ſo confident (thinking others as honeſt as my ſelf) that they have been the cauſe of my misfortunes; my want of diligence and ſuſpect of others, have made me alwaies play the after Game; and nothing but ſence of Honour did ever give me diligence enough to prevail againſt my Adverſaries: *Gods pro-*

providence hath protected me in all things, and I have deserv'd it in nothing; I have had great tryals upon me, but never any like this: Of which I may say as *Julius Cæsar* did, after his last Battail with Young *Pompey*, *That in all other Battails he Fought for his Honour, but in this, for his Life.* So may I say, all other tryals were fleabitings to this, and the *formidablest Army* I ever look'd upon of less Terrour than this of *Gnats*, as if there were a second *Pucell of Orleans* in the World; yet *Solomon* and *Sampson* are my Companions, for those that neither Wisdome, nor Strength could Conquer, have been subdued by Women. They were first form'd out of Mans Rib, and made Bone of his Bones, and Flesh of his Flesh; so that that they may if they please, the more familiarly smite him (as *Joab* did *Amasa*) *in the fifth Rib.* I should be laught at to advise others, who could not advise my self; yet this I must needs say upon the whole, that Government in Women Covert, (for I speak of no other) is most commonly distructive, even to themselves, for it often gives occasion for a third person to deceive them both; Nor do I think the *Empire of Rome* best Govern'd, when a two year old Child rul'd the *Empress*, and She the *Emperour*: Yet where men are Beasts (which I hope is not in this Case) I have known several discreet Women that have preserved their families from ruine, and I wish the Lady I Write of, may be so prudent as to do the same.

—— *Lord remove all misunderstandings, and Animosities* (Sigh.) *between my Wife and me! and those from both of us, which are, or may be the Cause of them; and bring those to condigne shame and punishment, which make it their business to divide whom thou hast joyned together. Forsake me not O God in mine old Age! when I am gray Headed, that thy Strength and Power may appear in my weakness; though they Curse, yet Bless thou, and let them be confounded and Clothed with shame, that rise up against me; but let thy Servant rejoyce, that I may say with* David

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David, *'tis good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy Statutes; Lord grant that they which Sow in Tears may Reap in Joy, that as I have been like to* Job *in my afflictions, I may also be like him in his patience and his end.*

FINIS.

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